HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 6 Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. February 8, 1969

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Rep. Hebert Sends Letter to Warren

Supreme Court Warned to Police Itself—Or Else

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Chief Justice Earl Warren is confronted with a new forceful demand that the Supreme Court tighten its rules of procedure so as to preclude "arbitrary and capricious" decrees by its members.

Unless the tribunal itself institutes such corrective measures, legislation imposing curbs will be vigorously sought in Congress.

That's the stern warning to Warren in a letter from Rep. F. Edward Hebert, (D.-La.), chairman of the House Armed Services subcommittees on National Guard and reserve affairs and the draft.

The influential legislator's ire was aroused by a number of stays granted by Justice William O. Douglas, an openly avowed "peacenik," blocking the sending of Guardsmen and reservists to Viet Nam. In every instance, such restraining orders had previously been denied by lower federal courts and other members of the Supreme Court—including the chief justice and Justices Black, Brennan, Harlan and White.

Also in several of these cases, it is charged Douglas acted in a "highly irregular manner."

Every one of Douglas' stays was subsequently thrown out by the Supreme Court as a whole.

"Justice Douglas' action, then and since," Hebert wrote Warren, "has reflected a complete and utter lack of judicial restraint, and in my view was prompted solely by his sense of political activism—in short, his apparent opposition to the war in Viet Nam.

"I cannot pretend to assess the total mischief effected by the stay orders issued by Justice Douglas. However, the gravity of his action is aptly reflected in the observation of one of my congressional colleagues, who said: 'To me it is unjustifiable that litigants can shop among the justices until they find one who will grant a stay.

" 'This procedure could be extremely damaging in an emergency that occurred while the court was not in session.' "

Rep. Hebert's sharp letter is the second he has written to Warren de-

Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D.-La.) notes with dismay the free-wheeling opinions of Justice William O. Douglas (below).

manding procedural changes to put an end to such high-handed and biased action as displayed by Douglas.

The issue was first raised by Hebert last fall when Douglas granted a stay to a company of Maryland Guardsmen after their being repeatedly rebuffed by lower courts and several Supreme Court members. In that letter, Hebert bluntly told Warren that "bizarre circumstances surrounded the issuing of this stay which in my view clearly indicate that Justice Douglas was either unmindful of the implications of his actions, or worse, chose to disregard them entirely."

Hebert strongly urged that the Supreme Court itself take steps to crack down on such procedural free-wheeling. He warned that unless that was done, Congress would be strongly impelled to act.

Warren's reply was evasively noncommittal. He completely ignored the issue of tightening the court's rules of procedure, but did say Douglas' controversial stay would be promptly considered. It was, and was thrown out. The balking Guardsmen had to go to Viet Nam.

In Hebert's latest letter he makes it pointedly clear that he does not intend to let the matter rest. The veteran lawmaker flatly charges that as a result of Douglas' stay "some 17 cases contesting the legality of the order to active duty of reserve and National Guard units or personnel were initiated. . . . The publicity given to his order unquestionably encouraged others to bring these additional suits."

Hebert's five-page letter to Warren details specific instances in which the 70-year-old, four-time-married militantly liberal Douglas granted stays after they had been denied by other federal courts and jurists.

"The fact that you, as Chief Justice, and other associate justices found no basis for the issuance of a stay order and had denied the request, deterred Justice Douglas not at all," declared Hebert. "His apparent conviction that the Congress of the United States and the President should be prevented from continuing the war in Viet Nam appeared to be his overriding objective."

The late Chief Justice Stone and the late Justice Felix Frankfurter were cited by Hebert as sternly cautioning against the Supreme Court's attempting to lay down policy. Said Frankfurter in a 1958 case, "It is not the business of this Court to pronounce policy. . . . Self-restraint is the essence of the judicial oath." Stone declared, "The only check upon our own exercise of power is by our own sense of self-restraint."

"Fortunately," continued Hebert, "some men possess the ability and the willingness to exercise self-restraint in judicial offices and not permit their actions to be influenced and clouded by their emotional involvement in national issues. Others, however, do not. Justice Douglas obviously does not."

Pointedly noting that Warren ducked the procedural question Hebert raised several months ago, the latter insisted on an explicit reply—on pain of remedial legislation.

"Since this question is no less pertinent today," wrote Hebert, "I solicit your advice on whether the court itself can within its own organization and authority establish rules of procedure which will preclude a repetition of these unfortunate circumstances in the future. Or, whether Congress may be required to legislate on this subject?"

A one-time star reporter and editor, Hebert (pronounced "a-bear") is third ranking member of the powerful House Armed Services Committee. Tall, well built and outspoken, he swings a lot of weight in both the committee and House.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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Capital Briefs

● Even aides to the new President are apparently worried that the Nixon Administration may not carry out its pledge to **clean up the State Department**. They readily acknowledge that William P. Rogers, Rusk's successor, is currently failing in that task and suggest that the department could become one of Nixon's biggest headaches if things don't promptly change.

● One piece of advice given Nixon to help give the department a "harder-line" image: have Rogers place **Robert D. Murphy**—one of Nixon's top foreign policy advisers during the transitional period—into a key department slot.

● The impression is growing in Washington that Dr. **Henry Kissinger**, Nixon's key White House adviser, is not only going to run foreign policy, but Defense Department policies as well. Insiders say that at a recent meeting of bigwigs at the Pentagon, Kissinger—not Defense Secretary Melvin Laird—did almost all the talking.

● In charting a path that he hopes will take him to the presidency, **Teddy Kennedy** continues to veer toward the left. Only last week the Massachusetts senator called for admission of Red China into the United Nations, expulsion of Formosa from the U.N. Security Council, and initiatives to see if non-strategic trade with Peking could be established.

● Well-placed government employes are saying that Democratic presidential aspirant Teddy Kennedy is benefitting the most from the Nixon Administration's refusal thus far to **clean out Democratic political appointees** from key positions in important executive departments. According to one White House source, "Kennedyites are still swarming about in top job positions, all very eager to help Teddy by making Nixon look bad."

● While the Department of Labor is packed with Democrats and liberals, **James D. Hodgson**, named as under secretary, is considered to be very favorable toward right-to-work legislation. Hodgson, in fact, helped resist efforts by organized labor to impose compulsory union dues on Lockheed Aircraft Corp. employes when he was one of the company's top officers.

● In the closing days of the Johnson Administration, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall executed a ploy that stunned all Washington: he renamed D.C. Stadium, home of the football Redskins and baseball Senators, in memory of the late Sen. **Robert F. Kennedy**. The stadium is owned by the government and falls under the Interior Department's authority. According to insiders, one of those most astonished by Udall's arbitrary move was President Johnson himself, who knew nothing of the plan. LBJ then "retaliated" by blocking a Udall move to set aside thousands of acres of federal park land for conservation purposes. These disputes, say those who witnessed the growing Johnson-Udall feud, "added gasoline to an already raging fire."

● With the current rash in **hijackings of American planes** to Cuba, the Federal Aviation Administration has been inundated by well-intentioned suggestions from the public on how to halt the air piracies One of the most imaginative so far: a proposal to have the Cuban national anthem played over an airplane's public address system whenever a Miami-bound flight is ready to depart, and then "arrest anyone who stands up."

● At the end of a dispatch from Hong Kong, a New York Times reporter noted: "Peking's mood, as expressed in recent propaganda, gives little support to the mounting tendency in the outside world to believe that **Communist China's foreign policy** is settling into a more flexible, moderate vein." In the same issue a Times editorial writer objected to President Nixon's "negative tone toward relations with Communist China," saying that "the attitudes he expressed must disappoint all who realize that normalization of Washington-Peking relations is prerequisite to a lasting and durable peace."

● A band of non-radical liberals has organized a group designed to help moderate college faculty members resist New Left disruptions on their campuses. The organization, known as the **Coordinating Center for Democratic Opinion**, is led by Prof. Sidney Hook, a former philosophy teacher noted for his liberal writings, and includes San Francisco State College President S.I. Hayakawa among its sponsors. The center now has representatives at more than 100 colleges and is concentrating on showing how faculty members, "using better publicity techniques, can make extremism unfashionable."

● **Ramparts**, the radical-left publication that prides itself on its "muckraking" capabilities, is reportedly again facing a serious financial crisis and considering another staff reorganization.

● Nixon's new secretary of housing and urban development, **George Romney**, delighted conservatives last week when he verbally pasted AFL-CIO President George Meany. In a face-to-face encounter with Meany, Romney said that one of the major reasons the nation has failed to keep pace with its housing needs lies with organized labor's high wage rates and restrictive work practices of the building trades unions.

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Alarming Developments at State

There is mounting concern within conservative circles these days over the structuring of the State Department under the auspices of Nixon's good friend, Secretary William P. Rogers. While the President promised to "clean house" during the campaign—and Rogers himself recently reiterated the promise—the fact is that there is no evidence available to suggest that such a housecleaning is in the works.

Indeed, one strong indication that no such mopping-up operation is in the offing was the decision last week by Elliot Richardson—the No. 2 man at State—to pick as his top assistant Jonathan Moore.

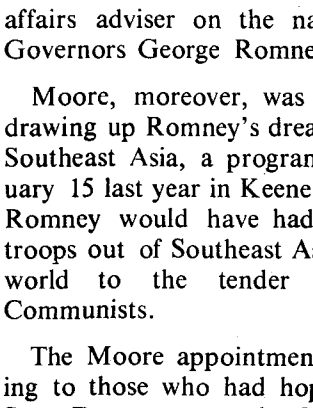
Moore is considered a congenital liberal in the field of foreign policy. Having previously served as an assistant to then Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R.-Mass.)—in which post he persuaded the Massachusetts lawmaker to go along with Kennedy's anti-Katanga policy—Moore jumped into the JFK Administration in late 1961 as a member of the Office of International Security Affairs, Department of Defense.

After switching to the State Department as a Viet Nam expert in 1964, he left the department to become a resident Fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government's Institute of Politics at Harvard. In 1967 and 1968 he worked as a foreign affairs adviser on the national campaign staffs of Governors George Romney and Nelson Rockefeller.

Moore, moreover, was considered instrumental in drawing up Romney's dreamy plan for "neutralizing" Southeast Asia, a program Romney unleashed on January 15 last year in Keene, N.H. Under the scheme, Romney would have had the United States pull its troops out of Southeast Asia, leaving that area of the world to the tender mercies of the Chinese Communists.

The Moore appointment is particularly disconcerting to those who had hoped for a different type of State Department under Nixon. In view of the fact that the President has still refused to see Dr. Walter Judd, a veteran Asian expert with some tough-minded ideas on how to cope with North Viet Nam and Red China, but is willing not only to see, but to hire, a Kennedy-Romney-Rockefeller foreign policy aide, the belief in Washington is growing that there will be no major shakeup at Foggy Bottom.

The Moore selection is only the latest in a long series of disappointments to those who had expected the Nixon Administration to fill out the State Department with resourceful persons with a realistic view of the Communist world. The decision to permit such Kennedy-Johnson holdovers as William P. Bundy, who heads up Far Eastern affairs in the department, and NATO Ambassador Harlan Cleve-



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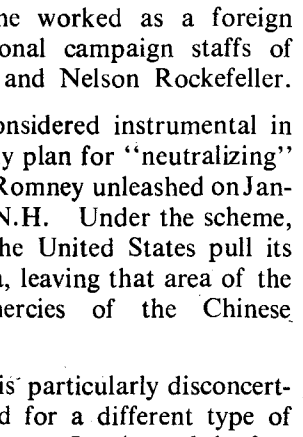

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land to remain on their jobs for several months has startled many, since they will undoubtedly be able to influence Administration policy during their stay.

Sharp criticism has also been directed against the decision to indefinitely retain Idar Rimestad as deputy under secretary of state for administration. This move was made against the advice of Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), who believes that Rimestad must be removed if Nixon is to gain control of the State Department.

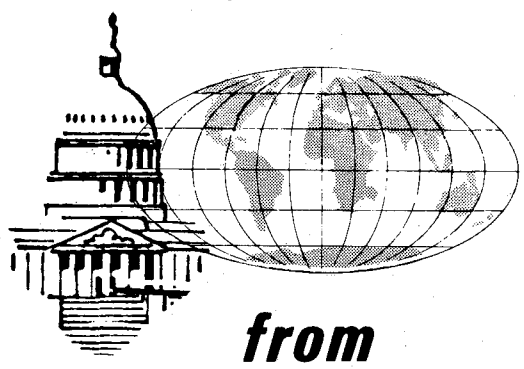
In charge of the key job dealing with department personnel, Rimestad has been a crucial figure in a number of decisions that resulted in security evaluator Otto Otepka being demoted, disciplined and put on make-work projects.

At this very moment, in fact, Kennedy-Johnson holdovers, with the acquiescence of Rimestad, are drumming out of the State Department some tough-minded Foreign Service officers, whose only apparent fault is that they have no illusions about how to deal with the Communists.

Thus, the growing worry by conservatives over the Nixon Administration's State Department.

- Hawkish foreign policy experts are not only concerned about the staffing of State Department positions with liberal policymakers, but also key jobs in the White House. They are extremely upset, for example, that the conservative Richard V. Allen, the target of a press assassination campaign by columnists Evans and Novak, has found his advice downgraded while Dr. Henry Kissinger—now Nixon's top White House foreign policy adviser—has been permitted to place on the staff of the National Security Council David I. Davidson and Morton H. Halperin. Davidson was W. Averell Harriman's personal assistant in Paris and is said to have Harriman's dovish views on Viet Nam. Halperin is a disarmament buff who favors accommodation with Communist China.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

HCUA's Odd Couple

Two new members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities should provide an interesting study in the months ahead. They are Representatives Louis Stokes (D.-Ohio) and Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.), who were apparently thrust onto the committee by the Democratic leadership after considerable prodding by anti-HCUA liberals.

Stokes, the brother of Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, is not only the first Negro to serve on the committee, but is the only committee member who has openly campaigned to abolish the panel. As recently as January 15, Stokes co-sponsored House Resolution 134, the passage of which would mean the end of HCUA.

Equally as fascinating as what Stokes will do should be the performance of Rep. Pepper. Oldtime politicos recall that Pepper was something of a zealous promoter of Soviet causes back in the 1940s when he was a senator.

The official files of the HCUA at that time revealed that Sen. Pepper had been identified by membership, sponsorship or association with 13 Communist front organizations, all of which had been designated as Communist and subversive by the U.S. attorney general, congressional and legislative committees or both. Among the organizations he was associated with were the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the American Youth for Democracy (formerly the Young Communist League).

Hailed as a hero in the Communist media, Pepper was even taken to task by the liberals in those days.

Ralph McGill, the Atlanta *Constitution* columnist, described Florida's apologist for Stalin as "Pinko Senator Pepper" in an April 22, 1950, feature article in the *Saturday Evening Post*. *Newsweek* and *Time* dubbed him "Red" Pepper.

A stout defender of Soviet aggression, Pepper was a guest of Josef Stalin on Sept. 14, 1945, and enjoyed an hour-long chat with the Kremlin dictator. Upon returning to the United States, Pepper said he had Stalin's personal assurances he didn't want war.

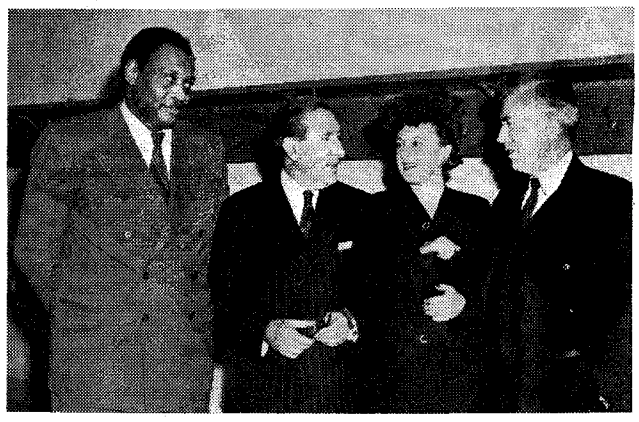
"Stalin told me Russia does not want to waste her substance on war or preparation for war, and she is not thinking of aggression upon the nations of the world," Pepper solemnly proclaimed.

On March 20, 1946, Pepper rose on the floor of the Senate to defend Soviet Russia against charges of aggression. Russia acts the way she does, he said, because "Russia remembers the Red-baiting, the articulated and open conspiracy against her among the major capitalistic powers of the world."

Later that year he wrote a laudatory introduction to a book entitled *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, which defended the Moscow purge trials and maintained that interests in the United States were bent on destroying the Soviet Union. One of the authors, Albert E. Kahn, had been identified as a Communist in public congressional hearings.

Defeated by George Smathers in the Democratic primary in 1950, Pepper returned to Congress in 1962 as a representative from the Miami area. Some say the 68-year-old Pepper has turned over a new leaf, especially since his district has a healthy proportion of anti-Communist Cubans. Pepper has even sponsored anti-Castro legislation and has refused to join hands with the congressional peaceniks.

Nevertheless, many observers are wondering if



Back in 1946, then Sen. Pepper met with Red-lining singer Paul Robeson (left), Mrs. Frederic March and former Vice President Henry Wallace (right). The occasion was a far-left rally to help defeat Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York, then running for re-election that year.

Pepper will find himself sympathetic to a committee that will be probing many individuals with backgrounds similar to Pepper's own record in the 1940s.

The Trans-Pacific Decision

President Nixon's decision last week to rescind the new trans-Pacific routes for several U.S. airlines, awarded by President Johnson before leaving office, brought to light one of the seamier sides of government life: the not-so-wonderful world of official cronyism, federal regulatory agency favoritism and lobbyists' arm-twisting.

The end result could not only be a re-altering of these route awards, but a presidential and congressional investigation into the procedures of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB).

The episode began in April 1968, when a veteran CAB investigator, Robert L. Park, reached a decision on the $500-million trans-Pacific air route case which had been pending since the late 1950s. His recommendations, which were designed to bring order and balance to the assignment routes for U.S. airlines flights to Asia and Australia, proposed new routes for Eastern, Northwest, Pan American, TWA, United, Western, and Flying Tiger airlines; Park did not propose new routes for Braniff, American or Continental airlines.

Although Park's recommendations were widely

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heralded for their fairness and non-political nature, the members of the CAB—who are political appointees—disagreed with them. So did President Lyndon Johnson, who had a voice in assignment of international air routes because of their possible foreign policy implications.

When the CAB and the President released their final decision on the trans-Pacific case on Dec. 19, 1968, the route awards were substantially different from Park's recommendations. Braniff, Continental and American Airlines received lucrative new route assignments, while TWA, Eastern and United Airlines received none—just the opposite of the Park proposals.

It was not difficult for experienced Washington scandal-spotters, such as the ever-astute Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), who exposed the matter on the Senate floor, to give a hint as to why the drastic alteration in routes might have come about.

To begin with, the chairman of the CAB is John Crooker, appointed last year by President Johnson. Crooker is a Houston lawyer and has in the past worked as a fund-raiser for his close friend and fellow-Texan, Lyndon Johnson. Likewise, the personnel ranks of the three favored airlines are rife with LBJ cronies.

The former president of American Airlines is C. R. Smith, who was LBJ's secretary of commerce; others on the American payroll are Warren Woodward, vice president, who has raised funds for his crony LBJ, and ex-White House staffers Horace Busby and Jake Jacobsen.

Braniff's roster boasts Walter Jenkins, the LBJ aide who left the White House under dubious circumstances in 1964, and Cliff Carter, not to mention its financial bosses, Troy Post and James Ling, both Johnson intimates.

Not to be outdone, Continental Airlines is represented in Washington by the law firm which counts ex-Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford among its partners; Lloyd Hand, once LBJ's chief of protocol, is also a Continental advocate.

It is political clout such as this which apparently wins airlines favors from the CAB. Braniff, American and Continental had it; TWA, Eastern and United did not. Q.E.D.

But the air routes manipulators made one small mistake. The CAB released its ruling December 19, providing the airlines 30 days to make an appeal to the board, and thinking the whole matter would be wrapped up neat and official by the time LBJ left office January 20. But holidays—such as Christmas and New Years Day—do not count in the 30-day timetable, so the case dragged over into the Nixon Administration.

And on January 24, after Sen. Griffin had attacked the CAB decision on the Senate floor, Nixon wrote Chairman Crooker, saying he had rescinded the decision and ordered him to "not take any further action in connection with the international aspects of this matter. . . ."

For a possible solution, the Nixon Administration might be advised to look back at the original recommendations of CAB examiner Park. And to get to the bottom of the entire episode, Congress might take an investigatory look at the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Congress Socks Taxpayers

While new evidence—contrary to LBJ's soothing assurances—reveals the government can expect heavy budget deficits in fiscal 1969 and 1970, the majority of U.S. lawmakers remain intent on grabbing for themselves a massive, 40 per cent pay hike—just before taking off for the annual 10-day Lincoln Day recess on February 7.

Moreover, they are planning to up their yearly salaries by a whopping $12,500 without permitting the voters to discover exactly which members favor the increase.

Congress is also prepared to let automatic pay increases go to top executives and federal judges.

Experts estimate that if all these pay hikes are passed, the federal budget can be expected to rise at least $5 billion annually.

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) are leading the fight in their chambers against the pay hikes, but most observers say there is little chance of killing them off, especially now that President Nixon has given them his blessing.

The way in which Congress is able to provide itself and others a hefty pay increase without each individual member voting on the size of the increase came about in this fashion:

A provision was included in the Salary Act of 1967 which established a commission to recommend a change of salaries for members of Congress, the judiciary and certain top personnel in the executive branch. Based on the commission's recommendations, the President, in turn, was to make his own salary proposals to Congress—which LBJ did on January 15. Congress arranged matters, however, so that the President's recommendations went into effect automatically after 30 days unless one House of Congress objected.

Both Williams and Gross have introduced repeal legislation, but key congressional committeemen are simply boycotting committee meetings. By staying away they hope to prevent the House Rules Committee, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee from reporting out resolutions which would compel members of Congress to vote for or against the salary increases.

Because the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee hadn't even been fully organized as of late last week, Rep. Gross asked the Rules Committee to send his repeal resolution to the floor. But although Rules Chairman William Colmer (D.-Miss.) publicly supports the Gross resolution, most of the committee members oppose it. Thus, the Gross resolution will probably fail.

Sen. Williams appears to be having an almost equally difficult time getting the Senate to declare itself. Williams says his resolution of disapproval has been languishing before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, where chairman Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) has let it be known that he intends to kill it.

Thus it appears that Congress' first order of business this year will not be an economy move, but an act to bilk the taxpayers—without even the courage to let the voters know exactly which members are doing the bilking.

Castro Gets U.S. Aid

Another area in which the Nixon Administration could trim the fat in the Johnson budget is in U.S. contributions—about $70.3 million annually—to the United Nations Development Program. The UNDP, according to its January report, has earmarked $226.6 million for projects in 84 nations, including Tito's Yugoslavia, pro-Peking Tanzania, and the Middle East's biggest troublemaker, the United Arab Republic.

The UNDP has also decided on a $992,000 handout for Castro's Cuba for a so-called Forest Research and Training Center. How much of it will be used for "forestry" is anybody's guess.

Once before Castro used U.S. taxpayers' money to help the Cuban cause through a large UNDP grant. In 1966 *Human Events* revealed that a $2-million UNDP grant was being used in Cuba to train scientists and engineers—some of whom were later used to aid the enemy in North Viet Nam. The United States paid 40 per cent of the expenses of expanding the School of Technology at the University of Havana—an institution which was largely controlled by Soviet and satellite personnel.

Last year Congress whacked away $5 million from the U.S. share in the UNDP budget. The Nixon Administration and Congress should take another hard look at the program administered by Paul G. Hoffman, the ex-New Deal-Fair Deal foreign aid giveaway artist. They may be shocked to find out how the funds are still getting into the hands of Cuba's bearded bandit.

Filibuster Vote

Despite an increase in the number of votes mustered by the liberals in recent years against the existing filibuster rule, Senate conservatives last week squelched a last-gasp effort to modify Rule 22. This rule presently requires two-thirds of the senators present and voting to cut off debate. Liberals wanted to reduce the number necessary to three-fifths.

Following is the rollcall vote on January 28 by which the Senate rejected a motion to end debate in the fight over changing the filibuster rule. While the liberals rolled up a 50-to-42 majority, the motion failed, since a two-thirds majority was needed. An "aye" vote supports the liberal position to end debate.

FOR THE MOTION: 50

DEMOCRATS (29): Anderson, Burdick, Church, Cranston, Dodd, Eagleton, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hughes, Jackson, Kennedy, McCarthy, McGovern, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (21): Aiken, Allott, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cook, Cooper, Dominick, Fong, Goodell, Griffin, Hatfield, Javits, Mathias, Packwood, Pearson, Percy, Saxbe, Schweiker, Scott and Smith.

AGAINST THE MOTION: 42

DEMOCRATS (21): Allen, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Holland, Hollings, Inouye, Jordan (N.C.), Long, McClellan, McGee, Russell, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (21): Bellmon, Bennett, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dole, Fannin, Goldwater, Gurney, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Prouty, Stevens, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for the motion: Bayh, Mansfield, McIntyre and Muskie, all Democrats.

Paired against the motion: Baker (R) and Gravel (D).

The Sidewalks of New York

New York's Mayor John Lindsay has certainly received his share of headaches from a wide assortment of Gotham's eight million residents—from sanitation workers to black militants—but now he is facing a challenge from one of the city's most unpleasant subcultures: the prostitutes who have flocked to "Fun City" because of one of the country's most lenient prostitution laws.

Before September 1967, prostitutes arrested in New York were liable to a maximum sentence of one year in jail. But then several city legislators—with Lindsay's acquiescence—decided that prostitution was a social disease and not a criminal problem and so softened New York's law to impose only a 15-day sentence and $250 fine on convicted prostitutes.

The results were predictable. During 1968—when the 15-day law was in effect—there were 8,045 prostitution arrests, representing a 27 per cent increase over 1967 and a 70 per cent increase over 1966. The old one-year sentence had been in effect during all of 1966 and for nine months in 1967.

Furthermore, during one month in 1968—December—there were 430 prostitution arrests involving 304 different women. Of these 304, 82 per cent had been arrested previously and their cumulative record showed 3,179 arrests, not only for prostitution, but homicide, felonious assault, robbery, burglary and narcotics. Similarly, a New York Hotel Association official reports that fully 90 per cent of all crimes committed in the city's hotels could be traced directly to "prostitutes and their cohorts."

"This 15-day law is nutty," says Criminal Court Judge Amos Basel. "Under the guise of a social advance, we're just giving them a passport to act as they wish. The girls who walk the streets are not just social problems. They're pickpockets. They're pushing narcotics. They're luring men into traps where they get beaten up by pimps."

Adds another Criminal Court jurist, who regularly tries 25 to 30 women a day on prostitution charges: "I think the 15-day law was an invitation to prostitutes and pimps all over the country to come to New York."

Apparently city officials have had enough of this experiment in "social advance." Lindsay and other lawmakers are attempting to have the law reworked to require a maximum 90-day jail term, a fine of $1,000 and provision for a one-year probation. This should take some of the fun out of Fun City.

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Contingency Planning for Possible Czech Revolt

By PAUL SCOTT

The Nixon Administration has begun preparing new contingency plans to deal with a Hungarian-type revolt should one break out in Czechoslovakia.

The government's highest policy-planning group, the National Security Council, was assigned the task after President Nixon indicated that he wanted to be prepared for all eventualities.

The crucial question to be studied is what type of help, if any, should the U.S. extend to the people of Czechoslovakia should fighting break out with Soviet forces occupying that country.

Recent tragic acts of protest by young Czechoslovaks, according to information reaching the White House, have brought that country to the verge of open revolt against Soviet occupation forces.

One Central Intelligence Agency report warns that the self-immolations have triggered a wave of national feeling akin to that aroused by executions of Prague University students soon after the Nazi occupation nearly 30 years ago.

In cold political terms, it points out, the Prague Communist leadership will soon have to decide on whether to support the growing student protest or use harsher measures to suppress it. Either course of action taken by the Czech leaders is bound to trigger a violent reaction.

In ordering the preparations of new contingency plans, Nixon has privately revealed he was disturbed over the weak policy guidelines followed by the Johnson Administration during the Soviet's military invasion of Czechoslovakia last August.

Prepared by Dr. Walt Rostow, former White House foreign policy adviser in the Johnson Administration, these guidelines were mainly limited to what the U.S. should do to keep any violence in Czechoslovakia from spreading.

The contingency plans barred any type of U.S. help should requests come from groups opposing Soviet military occupation. They provided that no provocative action should be taken by the U.S. The latter policy is the reason U.S. forces in West Germany were never put on alert during the crisis.

Under the new policy review, State Department officials have been instructed to contact Western European governments to determine what additional planning, if any, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should be undertaking at this time.

Because of Czechoslovakia's common border with West Germany, it is the belief of Nixon and his foreign policy advisers that any violent showdown in Prague could easily involve U.S. forces stationed in West Germany.

The Russians have kept two of their crack divisions near the West German border since their massive troop movements into Czechoslovakia last August.

New reports of military maneuvers in western Russia, similar to those conducted before last August's invasion of Czechoslovakia, are causing additional concern among Nixon's advisers. These unannounced maneuvers, they point out, could be the forerunner to the return of Soviet divisions recently pulled out of Czechoslovakia.

Also adding to the mounting Nixon Administration concern over events in Czechoslovakia is Moscow's harder ideological line toward the Soviet bloc.

The Soviet leaders are making it clear they seek to consolidate the Eastern European bloc—politically and economically. A vigorous propaganda campaign against the dangers of nationalism in the Communist countries is intensifying in the Soviet bloc.

The new watchwords are "proletarian internationalism"; in other words, the subordination of the rights of each Communist country to the interests of the world communism movement as directed from Moscow.

The apparent aim of the campaign is to lay the ideological ground for the world conference of Communist parties due to be held in Moscow next May. A preparatory meeting is scheduled for March in the Kremlin.

Despite their overtures to the Nixon Administration for peaceful negotiations, the Soviet leaders' ideological pronouncements are uncompromisingly orthodox in tone and theme:

The struggle between communism and capitalism is sharpening. The strategy of imperialism is to support nationalist elements in the Communist states under guise of "liberalizing" or "democratizing" communism, to inflame national sentiment against the Soviet Union, and to fragment the Communist bloc.

"National socialism," the Soviet line goes, "is a departure from Marxism-Leninism and cannot be tolerated." Every Communist party is responsible not only to its own working class for preserving the Communist system but, as *Pravda* stated recently, "to the whole world Communist movement for the common task of achieving full victory of communism."

Unflagging unity of the Communist camp is demanded. "Without international solidarity of the forces of world socialism [communism] it is impossible to guarantee the independence of each fraternal country individually," says *Pravda*.

The growing number of official Kremlin statements like the above along with recent events in Czechoslovakia convinced President Nixon that the U.S. should be prepared for a new violent confrontation in Prague.

□□□

"JFK CLUBS"—A group of young Frenchmen has organized a club that they hope will branch out all over Europe and promote better relations between European governments and the United States. Called JFK Clubs, after the late President, they are designed to counter leftist, Communist-inspired anti-Americanism. The 280-member Paris club is meeting at the local U.S. Information Service headquarters and the USIS is reportedly "tickled to death about the whole thing."

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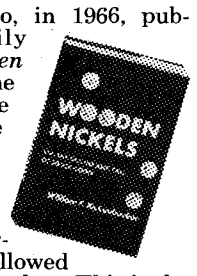

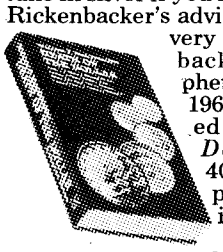

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Warning of Attacks to Come?

Senate Liberals Fall Flat in Anti-Hickel Crusade

Ex-Golden Glover Walter Hickel won a hands-down victory over the Liberal Establishment when the Senate by a 73-to-16 margin recently confirmed his nomination as Nixon's secretary of the interior. "Every charge that had been leveled against Hickel. . .just blew up," confessed Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), chairman of the Interior Committee which conducted the five-day grilling of the former Alaskan governor.

During swearing-in ceremonies, President Nixon lightly observed that the prolonged delay in approving Hickel "does not concern us. We are not interested in confirmation for confirmation's sake"—a wry take-off on Hickel's controversial comment that he was not for conservation for conservation's sake.

While the President outwardly treated the battle in a jovial manner, he was well aware that the Democratic liberals had already fired their first shot in preparation for the presidential donnybrook four years hence.

Not unnoticed was the fact that all the potential Democratic presidential contenders – Teddy Kennedy, Ed Muskie, George McGovern and Hubert Humphrey (through his mouthpiece, Fred Harris)—created some of the loudest anti-Hickel noises.

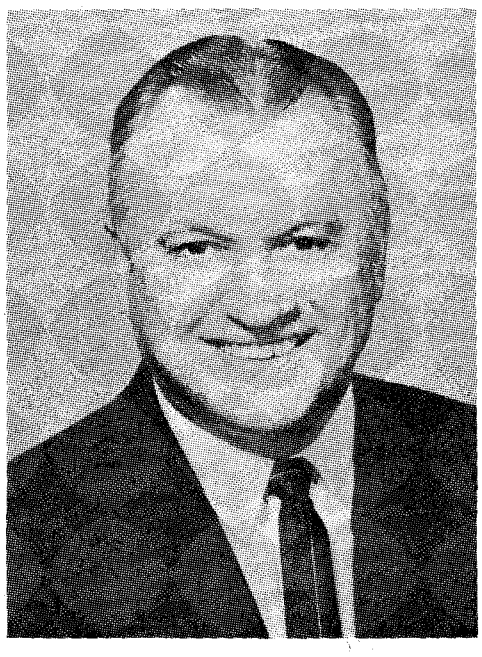
They had help, of course. Liberal Establishment newspapers such as the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times* sent aggressive reporters to Igloo Country to carefully dig up anything on Hickel. Drew Pearson and sidekick Jack Anderson joined in the anti-Hickel crusade. Pulling out all the stops, this reportorial duo suggested Hickel was against conservation, was wired in with the oil barons, frowned on pollution controls and ran roughshod over Alaskan Eskimoes.

None of this seemed to bother the millionaire governor, however, who had tougher days when he first went to Alaska with only 37 cents in his pocket. One by one Hickel chopped down the charges before the Interior Committee. He defended himself with such resounding effectiveness that conservationist Frank Church (D.-Idaho) felt constrained to say during the second day of hearings that the senators "hadn't even laid a glove" on Hickel. Church later upset his liberal brethren by voting for Hickel's confirmation.

Faced with the absurd charge of being against trees, Hickel pointed out that he never favored indiscriminate axing but he also noted that millions of board feet of timber in Alaska are "rotting because they have never been harvested." Hickel related that his state had vast, undeveloped lands, and that it made no sense, in the name of conservation, to insist that hundreds of thousands of acres of timber should be left to rot on the stump. Selective cutting and replanting, now widely practiced, does not despoil the state, he insisted.

He also laid to rest charges that he was insensitive to the land claims of Alaska's native Indians, Eskimoes and Aleuts.

In fact, New York *Times* reporter E.W. Kenworthy filed dispatches that, in essence, defended the governor on this score. Kenworthy reported the people of Alaska, including "a good many Democrats," rose to Hickel's defense. Democrat Edgar Boyko, a former Interior Department official and the state's attorney general, informed Kenworthy that he thought "the governor . . .genuinely sympathetic to the native cause." Further, Boyko stressed: "Hickel is a lot more sympathetic than Stewart Udall ever was."



Interior Secretary Hickel has weathered his first major test, but many liberals can be expected to lay a few traps for the former governor in the future.

Kenworthy emphasized: "Many lawyers here [Anchorage] also insist that the land claims legislation proposed by the governor has been in every instance more generous to the early groups than those bills sent to Congress by Mr. Udall. *The test of the bill seems to support this argument*" (emphasis added).

Hickel also furiously refuted claims that he is under the thumb of the oil lobby. He has never been engaged in the oil business as such. While he did have some oil leases, these were all terminated before he became governor of Alaska two years ago. In addition, the oil people grumbled that while he was governor he raised the oil tax from 1 to 4 per cent and clamped down on loopholes favorable to the oil industry.

As one high-ranking oil company representative in Washington remarked last week, "Those anti-business senators don't know what they're talking about on this score. The oil industry has had as much—or more—trouble with Hickel than with any other governor. The man's fair—but tough."

Strong opposition to Hickel's nomination came from five New England Democratic senators who were primarily concerned about Hickel's previous opposition to a scheme that could lead to the building of an enormous oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine.

In a plea to Washington, Occidental Petroleum said it would build the refinery if the area was designated as a foreign trade zone and if the interior secretary would make it easier for the firm to ship in low-cost oil from Libya. While governor of Alaska, Hickel had strongly opposed the Machiasport proposal and was a party in an Alaska state lawsuit to block it.

Asked by Sen. Muskie if he had changed his mind about the proposal, Hickel said he would not commit himself until he had all the facts on his desk as interior secretary. The strong stand to remain neutral drew the praise of Sen. Allott, who commended Hickel for not buckling to the wishes of the New England bloc merely to gain its approval for confirmation.

In weighing the pros and cons, Hickel said he would consider the national interest in making the decision, not just the interests of Alaska. Opponents claim:

- The Machiasport proposal would cause oil workers in other areas to lose their jobs.
- If this application were approved it would open the door to a flood of foreign oil imports that might cause U.S. producers to go out of business. Thus, opponents say, the United States would be dependent on foreign crude which could prove disastrous in the event the Middle East situation blew up and cut off supplies to the United States.
- Finally, the opponents point to improper pressure being applied on Congress. For example, House Majority Whip Hale Boggs said during the 1968 election Occidential offered a donation if he would help the firm in its application.

Proponents maintain that the refinery is needed to help New England lower what Sen. Muskie says is a very high price for fuel oil. In reply, Sen. Clifford Hansen (R.-Wyo.) says comparative figures refute Muskie's contention that New England fuel costs are high. Sen. Muskie claims the Maine area is suffering a recession, while opponents say that the average salary in the state compares well with the national average.

The prolonged confirmation hassle may be only the beginning of a series of controversies that Hickel will face, however. Outgoing Interior Secretary Stewart Udall—a close friend to the Kennedy family—has set up a series of booby traps for Hickel at interior that leaves the secretary in a difficult dilemma. Regardless of which way Hickel decides on certain issues, therefore, he will probably be pounced upon by Sen. Kennedy and other liberal Democrats in Congress.

Public Asked to Pay RFK's Campaign Debts

By WALTER TROHAN

During all the sound and fury, the pomp and circumstance of the inaugural of Richard M. Nixon, one of the most determined and carefully planned political fund-raising drives has been going virtually unnoticed. This is the effort to have the public absorb the debt left by the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) when an assassin's bullet ended his drive for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Even as the flags were flying and the drums were beating for Nixon, many Americans, Republicans as well as Democrats, were being asked, and even being pressured, around the country to buy dinner tickets up to $100 each or make contributions to help lift the Kennedy debt. Professional organizers who declared they were calling at the suggestion of Sen. Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy (D.-Mass.), said they were seating tables and had to have contributions before seats could be assigned. When those called said they were not interested, the solicitors demanded contributions.

This is only part of the effort to clear the debt of more than a million dollars. Sen. Kennedy has spearheaded a drive to get those corporations and businesses that have bills against the Kennedy campaign to scale down the bills by 50 to 70 per cent. The bills are for hotels, TV, radio and campaign paraphernalia.

Some firms, aware that presidential lightning might strike Teddy in 1976, or even in 1972, have agreed to accept 30 per cent on their bills. They have written to the senator expressing their willingness to slash their bills but have not heard from him. This has some wondering whether the next demand may be to forget the bills entirely.

During the recent presidential campaign, the Kennedys informed fund raisers for Hubert Humphrey they could not give to his campaign because they were obligated to make up Bobby's deficit. Now they are striving to pass that deficit on to a portion of the public.

When Teddy made his pitch for scaling down the debt, some bill holders asked why the family didn't pick up the debit. Kennedy answered that for most of them their money is tied up in trust funds so that they are short of ready cash. However, in 1960 it was said that the family was prepared to go for broke to have John F. Kennedy elected. They didn't go broke, but they spent handsomely.

The family isn't parsimonious, but it likes to spend where it pleases, especially to advance the family. Not long ago, Teddy announced the creation of a $10-million memorial for Bobby, but study of the announcement revealed that the $10 million would be raised by contributions from the public and that it was not a Kennedy gift. The cultural center in Washington and the library at Harvard, which are memorials to President Kennedy, are also public rather than family gifts.

These things have given the Kennedys a reputation for self-centered arrogance, which may be undeserved. The family appears to be incredible at times, but it is hard to fault a family whose motto appears to be "All for one and one for all."

The reported lack of cash may explain in part the surprising marriage of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, widow of the late President, to the aging, if fabulously wealthy, Aristotle Socrates Onassis, Greek ship owner and business operator.

Certainly the Kennedys are not the first family of great wealth to profess love for the common people but prefer the society of the wealthy and titled and famous.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Guaranteed Poverty or Guaranteed Opportunity?

Negative income tax, guaranteed annual income, family allowances. Would any radical plan really work? Or would forcing able-bodied welfare recipients to fill civic jobs be better?

By ROGER A. FREEMAN

From the dawn of history, through biblical times and down to our days, one of the most noble and most highly regarded human and humane tasks has been aid to the poor—to succor the widows and orphans, to help the aged and the afflicted, and to drive the curse of poverty from the land.

Among the countries that tried, none has come closer to the goal of eradicating poverty, in absolute terms, than the United States of America. The descendants of 43 million immigrants, few of whom landed with more than a bare minimum of material possessions, and most with nothing, made themselves within the short span of less than two centuries the richest people on earth, bar none. What is more, they changed the shape of income distribution from a pyramid—a wide base, narrowing to a peaked top—which had been the historical pattern and still prevails in many countries, to a diamond: the great bulk in the middle with a slimming toward both ends.

So widely was it believed that American society had succeeded in abolishing poverty that only eight years ago a presidential commission, appointed to define national goals and to design avenues by which to reach them, never mentioned poverty nor its eradication.

A few years earlier, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. reported in the New York *Times* (Aug. 4, 1957) how a Democratic politician had explained to him the 1952 election: "The trouble is, we ran out of poor people." Even John Kenneth Galbraith in *The Affluent Society* did not refer to poverty as a general or mass affliction but mentioned that some pockets remained of insular and case poverty—related to characteristics of the individuals affected more than to the nature of society.

Through its Joint Economic Committee, Congress studied the condition of families with under $2,000-a-year incomes in 1949, 1956 and 1959 but was careful to refer to them merely as the "lower-income population" or "low-income population." Nor did these reports attract much attention, at least not until about five years ago, when the terms "the poor" and "poverty" were applied to designate our low-income population and when a crusading spirit emerged.

The late Henry Luce explained the origin of the new movement at *Fortune*'s 35th anniversary banquet:

". . .But after all, is there not still poverty? Yes—and some might add that it took President Johnson's political genius to discern it." Some might even have said "to discover it." Several dozen books and hundreds of articles have since been written to impress upon us that we have again—or still—what we thought had long been abolished in the United States: mass poverty. Its extent was officially placed at 39 million persons, or 22.1 per cent of the American population at the close of 1959, and at 26 million persons, or 13.3 per cent of the population in the latest survey in March 1968.

Mr. Freeman is a senior staff member of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, and a much-published author on social economic topics. This article is the text of a speech he delivered at a National Association of Manufacturers conference in New York, Dec. 5, 1968.

BLACK STAR PHOTO

So, in recent years we have had much discussion of the "paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty" and of means to combat it and to wipe poverty off the map of the United States. We are met this morning to discuss the latest group of proposals to achieve that end.

When we look more closely, it becomes apparent that the existence of poverty amidst plenty is as much of a paradox as the existence of shadows when the sun shines. It is the sunshine which causes objects to throw a shadow as it is the affluence of our society which makes us place the label of poverty on one out of every 10 American families.

Poverty, as you know, is defined as a cash income below a specified level which on last count was officially set at $3,335 for a four-person, non-farm family. A family income of that magnitude is regarded as a mark of high prosperity or at least as expressing a middle-class status everywhere outside the borders of the United States. Until not so many years ago this was true here, too.

Poverty used to be defined as the absence of resources sufficient to meet minimum requirements. But definitions and concepts change. In Sweden, the highest-income country in the world next to the U.S. with a per capita product only 25 per cent below ours, 22 per cent of the income-earners make less than $965 a year, 42 per cent less than $1,930. But Sweden, which boasts the most extensive welfare system anywhere, claims to have eradicated poverty long ago.

Family income in the United States averaged $8,017 in 1967. Thus, the governmentally sanctioned poverty level equals only 42 per cent of the average. That does seem *relatively* low. Many seem to believe that in a country as rich and powerful as ours everybody ought to be above the average—but at least nobody should be below the average.

Supposing all income were to double over the next 20 or 30 years. Would that wipe out poverty? It practically would—*if* $3,335 remained the benchmark. But as happened in the past and will most certainly continue to happen, the poverty definition will change and if average incomes double, so will the poverty level. The incidence of poverty, as now officially defined, has declined by 1 percentage point each year since 1959—from 22.1 per cent to 13.3 per cent (1967). At that rate poverty would cease to exist in the United States by about 1980. Some have so predicted.

But to assert or expect that this will actually happen is plainly naive. We guarantee the perpetual existence of poverty by defining it not in terms of constant minimum subsistence requirements, but moving it up in relation to the steadily growing average income. This is like greyhounds chasing a mechanical hare, or the dog chasing his tail: the faster he turns the faster his tail moves.

When a nationwide Gallup poll in March 1964 asked whether they thought that poverty would ever be done away with in this country, 83 per cent of those questioned replied in the negative.

When asked again in June 1967, after three years of the "War on Poverty," 89 per cent so responded. This suggests that the American people do not always accept the glowing promises of their political leaders at face value, and possibly less so after they have had an opportunity to compare promises with action and results.

To be sure: nobody questions that it is highly desirable to lift the income of persons on the bottom rung of the ladder to somewhat higher levels. In fact, many are convinced that this is imperative, whether they be motivated by compassion and charity or by uneasy thoughts about future domestic tranquility. But there are wide differences of opinion on how this can best be done, in what span of time it ought to and can be accomplished, and what role government should play in it.

In the recent election campaign the presidential candidates of both major political parties declared unequivocally that they would try to solve the poverty problem by expanding payrolls rather than welfare rolls. That is what the great majority of the American people like to hear—and would like to see. Not long ago President Lyndon B. Johnson predicted that "the days of the dole are numbered." Likewise, in his State of the Union message in 1962, President John F. Kennedy stated that the new public programs would stress "services instead of support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work rather than prolonged dependency."

This only reiterated what President Franklin D. Roosevelt had said in his 1935 State of the Union message about the need to put people to work. He warned: "The lessons of history. . . show conclusively. . .that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre. To dole out relief. . .is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. . . .The federal government must and shall quit this business of relief."

If the federal government were to continue quitting "this business of relief" at the rate at which it has been doing so, most Americans would be on welfare before many more years have gone by.

Why is this so? Because the enthusiasm with which various programs of occupational training and compensatory education—such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Work Experience and Training, Title I (1965 Education Act)—were received and carried out has so far not been matched by commensurate tangible results. That does not prove that the goal cannot be achieved. But it remains to be demonstrated that any method so far employed can place a sizable percentage of the present or future relief recipients on self-sustaining payrolls in manufacturing, commerce, finance or any other industry. No public program that might conceivably achieve that end has so far proven politically acceptable.

Sometimes I wonder whether the large organizations demanding more generous welfare programs truly believe that a majority or at least a substantial percentage of those who now depend on the dole can be made self-supporting. Their actions suggest that they have concluded that no amount of training will significantly reduce dependency, that educational programs must be supported as much for their public relations value as in expectation of tangible results, and that making assistance recipients more comfortable is the best way to fight poverty. It could also be that some groups who are opposed to more generous relief are equally skeptical, but, not wanting to appear purely negative, endorse and sponsor job training, without much hope of success, except in a limited number of cases.

Berkeley sociologist Nathan Glazier was probably correct in saying "that it is much easier to give someone money than to turn him into a productive and self-respecting citizen." That politicians have followed the line of least resistance, and are likely to follow it in the future, is not surprising.

Buoyed and excited by lavish promises, low-income people and their leaders do not exhibit the pa-

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tience to wait for the results of programs which may, or may not, succeed in fitting them for and getting them, years hence, into well-paid and not overly demanding jobs. They want fulfillment now—and only cash can give it to them.

Just about everybody, from the far right to the far left, is critical of and unhappy with our present system of public assistance and would like to supplement or replace it with another method of distributing public funds among low-income persons. The assignment of this panel is to discuss three such methods: guaranteed annual income (GAI), negative income tax, family allowances.

To guarantee everybody an adequate income appears to be the most direct and simple method to end poverty; also, when we study it more closely, potentially the most destructive.

It is proposed that government make up the difference between a pre-determined national standard and all income an individual or a family derives from other sources. In an affluent society, we are told, nobody should be permitted to fall below a minimum income needed to maintain a decent living. That sounds so persuasive that it has convinced a good many people that the millenium is just around the corner and that GAI is the way to bring it about.

Taking the poverty limit of $3,335 for a four-person, non-farm family, the difference between needed and actual income (which includes Social Security, public assistance, etc.) amounts to $11 billion a year, on last count. If we take the Department of Education and Welfare's "near-poverty" income level which is one-third higher, the gap rises to $20 billion. Can we afford not to wipe out poverty at one blow—at a cost that equals a mere 1.5 per cent to 2.5 per cent of the national income or product? If we cannot do it this year, surely at the end of the Viet Nam war. . . .

There are several things wrong with this mirage. If a four-person family can get from the government without work $3,335—and a household of different size a proportionate amount—who will take a job paying $3,500, $4,000 or $4,500? Millions of unskilled or low-skilled persons cannot hope to earn more by their own efforts. Who will take a part-time job? Entire occupations would be wiped out overnight, a large part of the labor force of several states —particularly in the South—would immediately retire and most agricultural employment would end.

Not only would the cost of the program jump to several times $11 billion, our whole wage structure at medium and higher levels would be thrown into chaos, American consumers would be deprived of a large array of goods and

Milton Friedman's plan to replace all welfare with a Negative Income Tax (NIT) does not seem politically feasible.

Long lines of welfare recipients could well be drastically reduced by providing more incentives to work. Author Freeman contends that current welfare policies often encourage the unemployed to simply stay on the dole.

services whose prices would become prohibitive, our balance-of-payments deficit would multiply several times—to say nothing of the U.S. budget. The combined impact of demand-pull and cost-push inflation and a reduced supply of goods would be overwhelming and the "noble experiment" would soon collapse of its own weight.

$28 Billion to the Poor

It is sometimes forgotten that public maintenance programs already run at an annual level of $58 billion—up from $10 billion in 1950 and $27 billion in 1960. Not all of those funds go to poor people. But *federal aid to the poor* jumped from $9.5 billion to $27.7 billion between the fiscal years 1960 and 1969, according to the U.S. budget. Some of the programs and the taxes required to finance them exert a disincentive effect on productive effort; but none packs the punch of the proposed GAI schemes.

Such considerations are deemed irrelevant by enthusiasts who hold that human dignity and social justice give everybody an absolute right to an adequate income from the government. Who is "the government"? The people who work and pay taxes. Cash is only a token that confers on the holder a claim on goods and services produced by others. To give people who prefer leisure to work a claim on the product of those who choose to work, forces the latter group into involuntary servitude, a new form of slavery.

Protagonists of GAI such as Richard Theobald and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution contend that technological progress has made millions of workers redundant and will continue to reduce the number of jobs at an accelerated pace. They hold that persons with low productive capacity cannot compete with sophisticated machines and should retire. Nobody ought to be working who cannot earn at least $4,000 to $5,000 a year from it. In the age of automation and cybernation the tie between income and work needs to be cut.

That technological progress reduces employment is a myth which has been disproved many times. Gains from increased productivity are used to lower prices, to boost wages, or both. Thus they enlarge markets and create jobs in turn. They do destroy some jobs but open more new ones.

Industrial productivity has been rising at a faster pace during the 1960s than it did during the 1950s—3.8 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively per man-hour per year. Simultaneously the number of jobs jumped by 10 million and the unemployment rate dropped from 5.5 per cent to 3.6 per cent.

Nor is unemployment high in industries—or in countries—where productivity has risen at above average rates; more often it is relatively low. Unemployment tends to be high where a well-meant wage policy has priced large groups of workers out of the labor market or made the goods they produce or services they render non-competitive. It does not seem likely that an over-all shortage of jobs exists in an economy in which almost 10 per cent of the industrial work is done on premium-pay overtime and where over 5 per cent of the labor force holds more than one job.

By eliminating several unskilled, low-paid occupations, GAI would force the rest of the labor force, the more highly skilled, the technical and professional workers, to devote more of their time to doing their own laundry and other menial tasks, thus reducing the hours they can give to their prime occupation. This may not help the rate of economic growth, but it might increase the number of the white collar jobs which the unskilled so highly desire.

The American public is strongly opposed to GAI, according to a nationwide Gallup poll in June 1968 which showed 36 per cent in favor but 58 per cent opposed. When the potentially pernicious results of GAI became more widely known, a modified plan which avoids some of GAI's most damaging features gained public attention: the negative income tax.

The negative income tax (NIT) has attracted wider support in recent years than any other proposal in this field. Some view it as the Great White Hope.

As originally advanced, NIT would let every person—or every family unit—whose exemptions and deductions exceed his adjusted gross income, compute his "negative income," apply a tax rate to it, and then have the Treasury pay him the resulting "negative tax." The tax rate would not be the 14 per cent which is now applied to taxable income in the lowest bracket (up to $500 for an individual) but more likely 50 per cent, or 66 2/3 per cent or some other percentage. It could even be graduated.

To many a taxpayer it appears to be a brilliant idea and eminently fair that he should be able to get paid by the Internal Revenue Service if his income falls below a certain minimum. It would establish a partnership principle—to share not only gain but also loss. And it would highly please the reliefer who regards the receipt of a monthly check to be far more dignified if it comes from the U.S. Treasury than from the state welfare department.

A 50 per cent "tax" rate would guarantee a four-person family approximately one-half the "poverty standard," or about $1,650, which would make NIT much less competitive with low-paid jobs than GAI. More recent variations, however, would tie NIT to a poverty standard rather than to a computed negative income. By permitting recipients to retain between one-third and two-thirds—typically one-half—of their earnings up to a modest but adequate income, NIT would encourage its beneficiaries to seek gainful employment, full-time or part-time. Gradually, as their skills and wages improve and they become accustomed to a higher income, many will, hopefully, become fully self-supporting.

Well over a hundred articles, chapters and booklets were published in recent years, proposing a great variety of plans under the attractive label "negative income tax." Most authors attribute the idea's paternity to Milton Friedman and usually identify him as Sen. Goldwater's economic adviser in the 1964 presidential campaign. Such references are intended to suggest or imply that a proposal by a Goldwater adviser could not possibly be an extravagant governmental spending scheme, but is of a conservative nature.

But Friedman's proposal is unique among NIT plans: it would, in his estimate, cost *less* than our present public assistance system which it aims to replace. Most other proponents of NIT regard the public funds now channeled into income support of the poor to be niggardly and they designed their NIT plans so that they would increase those funds very substantially. Moreover, NIT would *not replace* public assistance but be added on top of it, at a cost that would under some currently popular plans run as high as $13 billion or even $25 billion a year.

Left-Right Controversy

Milton Friedman was surprised—and seemingly embarrassed—when his idea was received with enthusiasm on the left and with hostility on the right. Yet, this unusual alignment is easy to explain. Individuals to the left of center view NIT as a new and powerful vehicle for taking several additional billions from the "haves" and giving them to the "have-nots": in the process it would correct certain deficiencies in public assistance.

Persons to the right of center fear that in the political reality of the day Milton Friedman's plan, if accepted in principle, could only be enacted with such initial changes and subsequent amendments as would turn it into something entirely different from what its author had in mind: into a grab bag which neither he or they would think of supporting.

Most features of NIT can with equal ease be added to established public income maintenance programs. For example, the employment incentive of letting recipients keep a percentage of their earnings from working, up to a specified ceiling, was inserted in the old age benefit provisions of Social Security

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(OASDI), in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and, between 1962 and 1967, in the categorical public assistance programs.

The size of public assistance grants is now set by deducting from the needs of each family its income from other sources. The standards by which those needs are computed establish, in effect, a guaranteed annual income. But those standards are flexible, to fit individual and local circumstances. They are determined by state legislatures and welfare administrators, presumably in keeping with the concepts and wishes of the people of each state. Standards tend to be high in high-income states and low in low-income states. That is so partly because of varying state fiscal capacity—though this is mitigated by a federal reimbursement which ranges from 44 per cent to 79 per cent, inversely to per capita income—and partly because the benefit level that makes welfare more attractive than unskilled jobs is lower in low-income states.

National Minimum?

If differences in assistance standards among the states are deemed to be too wide, a national minimum can of course be made mandatory. This has repeatedly been suggested, but Congress has so far not seen fit to act.

A national minimum would appear more appropriate than a uniform national standard because an amount adequate to live in a small Southern town would not be sufficient in New York City, while a grant large enough for New York or San Francisco would create chaos in the economy and job markets of low-income areas, especially in the South. Public assistance *can* operate with a national *minimum* if it is deemed necessary or desirable. But NIT requires a national *uniform standard* which would create inequities between the states.

Many proponents view NIT as a way of eliminating the hated means test by which the eligibility of an applicant for public assistance is commonly verified. The welfare profession holds that the means test insults the applicant's dignity and should be abolished in favor of a simple declaration, just as tax returns are accepted by the IRS at face value with only a small percentage subjected to an audit.

Absence of a means test is of course not an integral feature of NIT. The test could be required for eligibility under NIT—and it could be omitted in public assistance. That depends on whether we aim to ease access to the welfare rolls or whether we intend to grant public aid only to those who can stand an examination of their eligibility.

The under-18 population grew 36 per cent over the past 15 years (1953 to 1968), but the number of children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) increased five times faster—187 per cent. That hardly suggests that eligibility procedures have been overly restrictive. Nor, that many applicants were deterred by an allegedly demeaning means test.

Public assistance claims are generally not verified by trained investigators but by case workers trained in social welfare. Their commitment and allegiance lie, under professional precepts and standards, with their welfare clients and not with the welfare department or the taxpayers. While Congress and the American public periodically express unhappiness with the constant and rapid rise of welfare rolls, the welfare profession disagrees. It focuses its concern on the fact that only one-third or one-fourth of the poverty population—as officially defined—receives public assistance. In consequence it aims more to put people on the rolls than to take them off.

Suggestions have been made—and were put into practice in some locations—to "simplify" the intake of public assistance; i.e., to accept an applicant's statement without attempting to verify it. New York City is using such simplified procedures in part of its area.

New York City enjoys (?) one of the highest ratios of AFDC recipients to under-18 population in the country—three times higher than the national average. That relief rolls in New York City have multiplied so rapidly—lately rising by over 20,000 a month—that now one of every eight city residents is on welfare may be partly due to a formal or informal "simplification" of intake. But it could be more directly related to the fact that monthly benefits in New York are 71 per cent above the national average although per capita income is only 19 per cent higher than the national average.

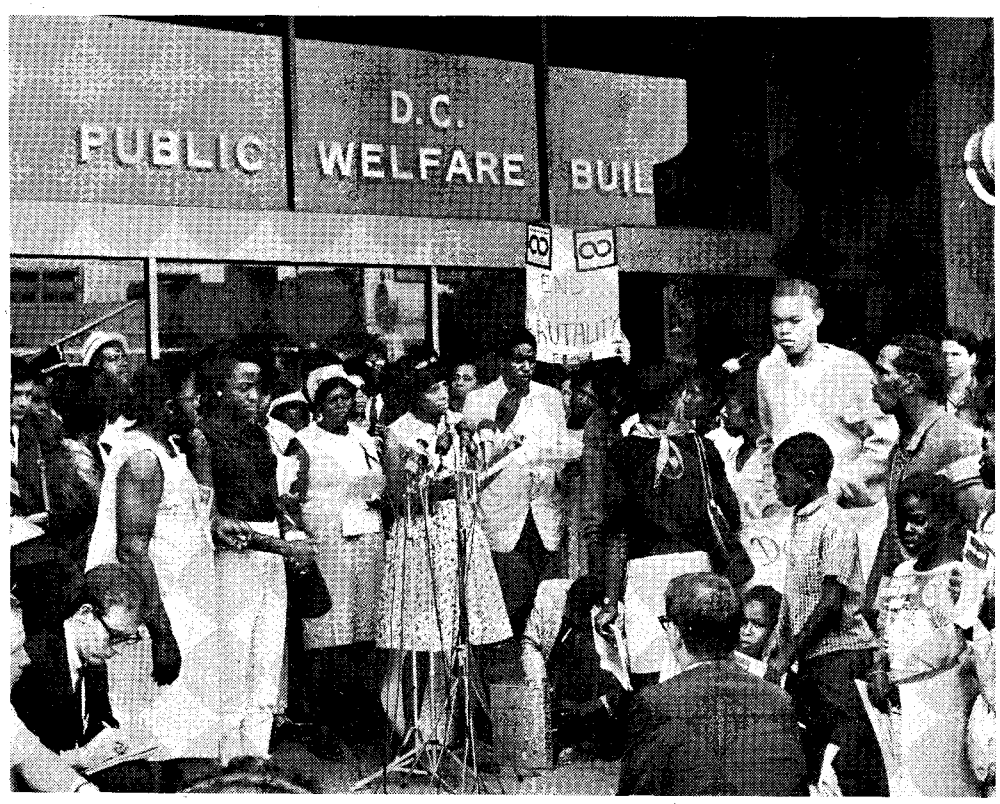
Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) informed his colleagues a few weeks ago that an AFDC couple with two children in New York City now receives $4,100 a year—not counting fringe benefits—while a man, working full-time at the minimum wage of $1.60 an hour, would earn only $3,300, with an even smaller take-home pay.

But the demands are strong in New York City to boost the size of welfare benefits and to add 150,000 to 300,000 families to the relief rolls.

Maybe New York City, the financial capital of the United States—and of the world—can afford all that. Or can it?

I mention this because New York City conditions can give us an indication of what the rest of the country would face if an even more generous scheme such as one of the more frequently cited NIT plans or GAI were to be nationally adopted.

Milton Friedman sought an alternative to our present system of public assistance because it leaves too many decisions in the hands of social workers and welfare administrators. Needs are computed on an average family basis and the authority to grant or deny monthly benefits gives welfare departments too much power over the lives of low-income people. This, he feels, could be remedied by substituting an objective, impersonal formula for fallible human judgment.



Many welfarists have taken to the demonstration tactics so favored by the New Left. Above, a Washington, D.C. group holds a streetside "press conference."

NIT would replace the rule of men by the rule of law. This would also meet a demand which the welfare profession has long put on its banner: to abolish public assistance categories. Need; i.e., lack of adequate income, should be the only criterion for public aid.

Categories could of course also be eliminated under public assistance. But adoption of NIT might make this easier to accomplish.

Abolition of welfare categories is a fundamental issue on which two opposing philosophies clash. For an explanation we need to delve into the history of public assistance.

When the Social Security Act of 1935—which was exactly one-third of a century old on Dec. 14, 1968—was adopted, it established two basic criteria for eligibility:

1) Low income. 2) Membership in a group with certain characteristics which provide an adequate reason for the person or family being poor: age 65 or older; blindness; children whose fathers are absent.

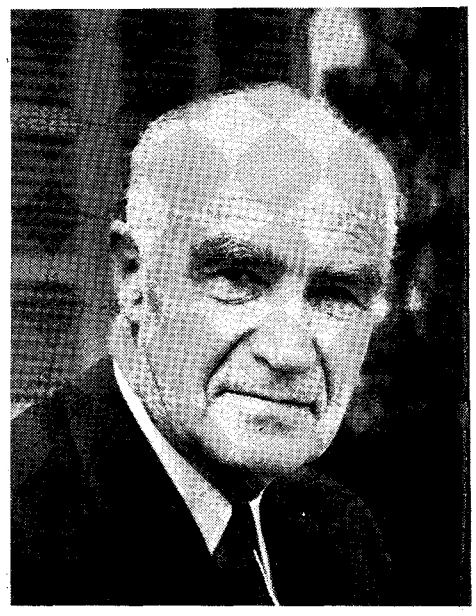
The last category was then understood to mean mostly orphans and children of disabled fathers. ADC—later renamed AFDC—was intended to continue, on a national basis, the mothers' pensions or widows' pensions which the several states had established in the preceding three decades.

In 1950 disability was added to the other three public assistance categories and in 1957 to Social Security (then OASI). During the 1950s most children of dead or disabled fathers were moved to the Social Security program and an initially small group became the main clients of AFDC: children of fathers who had deserted their families or were never married to their mothers, and those mothers themselves. The inclusion of unemployed fathers was permitted in 1962 and 22 states so extended AFDC.

ADC was so noncontroversial at the time of its adoption that it was hardly even mentioned during the extensive congressional and public debates that preceded the Social Security Act of 1935. For some years now about all controversies over public assistance have focused on AFDC. This is not just because the number of recipients jumped from under two million in 1953 to 5.6 million in mid-1968 and the cost from slightly over half a billion dollars to $2.8 billion a year.

The flames of controversy are fanned by certain charges made against AFDC:

• When the various income maintenance programs were proposed in 1935, Congress and the public were told that crime and other social ills were caused largely by poverty and could be reduced by adopting social welfare measures. The programs—and particularly AFDC—were vastly expanded in subsequent years but the rates of crime, delinquency, desertion, illegitimacy and other social ills multiplied and still are soaring. Critics hold that AFDC has significantly contributed to that appalling record.



The late Henry R. Luce wryly noted that it took LBJ's political genius to discern so much American poverty.

• While welfare dependency in the other three categories is the result of natural or exterior forces, AFDC dependency is largely caused by socially unacceptable and destructive behavior such as desertion and illegitimacy which should not be supported nor its perpetrators be rewarded—and thus encouraged—by handing them monthly government checks which appear to put an official approval on their actions. The welfare profession, however, believes that this argument is like blaming the umbrella for the rain.

Most states are lax in enforcing parental support responsibility and thus leave the door open for convenient mass evasion and a shift of the burden from fathers to the back of the taxpayer. Moreover, as monthly AFDC benefits grow to a level that equals or exceeds the take-home pay of unskilled and not overly ambitious men, many mothers come to prefer welfare. Freedom to exercise that choice would be broadened and facilitated by a GAI or NIT program.

Matters are made worse by the tendency of low-income families to have more children which appears to be encouraged by a program that accords benefits according to the number of children. Families with six or more children average $2,000 less in income than families with two or three children. The former are over three times as likely to be poor as the latter.

Critical Public Attitude

It has been long and intensely debated whether a person is partially or wholly responsible for his poverty. A Gallup poll in June 1967 disclosed that 42 per cent of the American people believe that "lack of effort" is to blame for an individual's poverty, another 36 per cent that it is a "combination of lack of effort and circumstances" and only 19 per cent blame "circumstances alone." This shows a significant shift between 1964 and 1967 from "circumstances" to "lack of effort."

This critical attitude of wide sections of the public and the resulting plight of the "undeserving poor" deeply troubles

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the welfare profession and many sympathizers. They feel that "the undeserving AFDC family has been for a long time the albatross around the neck of public welfare." This is why the mentioned groups demand the abolition of assistance categories and the establishment of need; i.e., low income, as the only criterion of eligibility for public aid. But congressional ears are attuned more to the sentiment of the general public than of the welfare profession and its allies. So far, Congress has shown no desire to wipe out categories in public assistance. This is why protagonists of the abolition of categories view a changeover to an entirely new system such as NIT or GAI as the most promising means to break the deadlock.

It is generally agreed that men who are physically able should work to support their families and not be given public aid if suitable jobs for them can be found. Whether mothers should seek employment or stay home with their children is still being debated.

In the entire population, 44 per cent of all mothers with children from six to 17 years, and 24 per cent of mothers with children under six years, were in the labor force in March 1966, if the father was present in the household. If the father was absent, 66 per cent of the mothers with children 6-17, and 46 per cent of those with children under six, were in the labor force.

Most of those working mothers were not on AFDC. But mothers who did not care to work—at least not at prevailing wages on available jobs for which they qualify—nor had independent means of support, went on AFDC and *will in all likelihood remain there until* the system is changed.

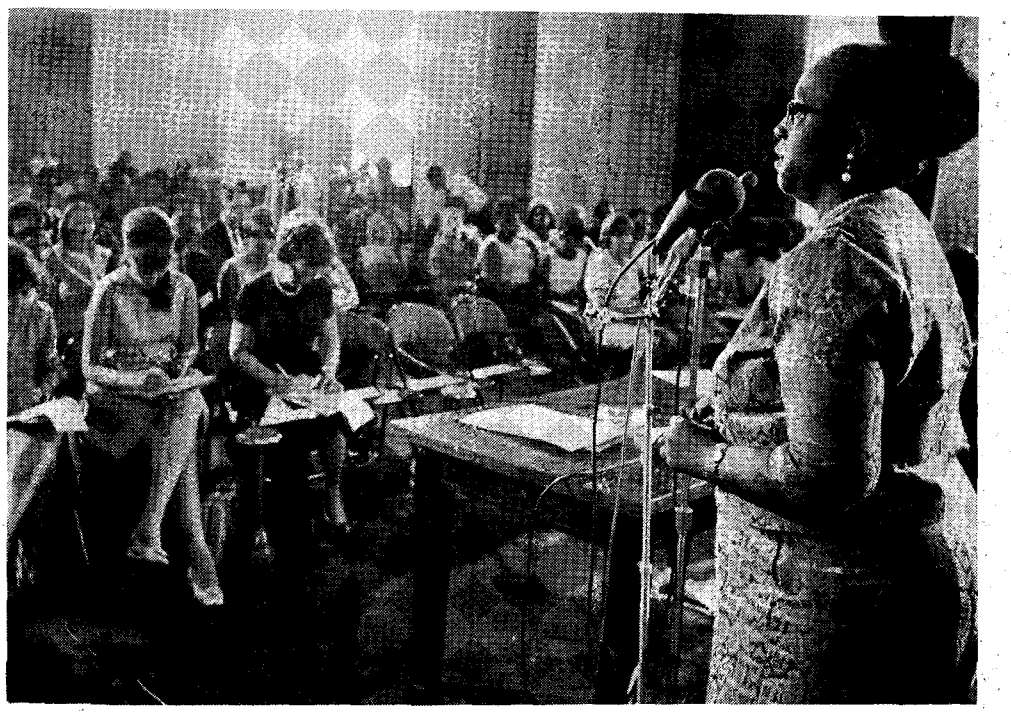
Millions of openings are going begging and many of them are for unskilled and low-skilled workers in the service trades, particulary in laundry and cleaning, restaurants and hotels, domestic service, etc. Even in New York City with its heavy welfare load "there is an average of 100,000 to 120,000 unfilled jobs each month and 40,000 of these 'appear to be open to the city's poor almost irrespective of their education and training,'" according to a recent report to the city's Human Resources Administration. "They are jobs where the learning required is between. a half hour or six hours at the maximum."

However, men and women, and particularly young people, who can wash dishes, help in food preparation, serve as messenger boys or clean backyards—but are not qualified to fill vacancies which call for higher skills—do not care to accept jobs which they regard to be menial, as long as welfare offers them an opportunity to get workless income from public funds. They constitute a growing new leisure class.

We are sending more of our girls to college than any other country in the world. We are also the only country which then turns its university-educated women into cooks, chamber-maids and cleaning women for much of the rest of their lives and thus keep them from using their natural gifts and training in a professional career. It has been estimated that there are 5.5 million families in the United States that want maids, but only 1.5 million women here who will take the jobs. With welfare readily available, why should they?

Would incentives offered by NIT motivate AFDC recipients to work? New York City started a program in September 1967 which permitted welfare recipients to keep the first $85 a month and 30 per cent of the remainder of their earnings up to a ceiling of $4,900 for a family of four. The welfare department expected 40,000 of the 120,000 welfare mothers to take jobs. In February 1968 only 1,554 were working and by the summer of 1968 2,500. Nor are the prospects good that a sizable number will do so later.

The chance to retain part of their earnings does not seem to be an adequate incentive. To be sure: the carrot is a powerful motivator for many. But others—and apparently most of those now on welfare—will not respond without the stick. The "stick" of requiring welfare recipients to do some useful work, if they are physically able to do so, could become the most effective test of need and of a justified claim to public aid, even without a thorough verification such as a means test.



A St. Louis, Mo., woman addresses reporters concerning alleged abuses by the government in dealing with those who are on public assistance.

A small number of people cannot compete in an open job market, for whatever reason, particularly when legal or contractual minimum-wage rates price them out of a not-so-open market. Obviously they cannot be left to starve.

A Gallup poll in June 1968 showed that 78 per cent of those questioned believed that government should guarantee everybody work at a minimum subsistence pay in lieu of workless welfare payments, if he cannot find a regular job.

For workers whose output does not equal the wage rate they would have to be paid, government could offer tax credits to employers or possibly subsidies.

It would even be preferable to have government act as an "employer of last resort" rather than as a source of workless relief for millions of people. Large numbers of jobs can be made available through work relief such as cleaning and rehabilitation of streets, public buildings, subways, parks and city slums. Many unskilled jobs can be created in various types of public institutions.

Work relief, full-time or part-time, will confer on recipients the dignity of having *earned* their support, give taxpayers at least some tangible return on their multi-billion investment, and, last but not least, the assurance that only persons who are genuinely in need and merit help will be aided.

It is hardly possible to make work relief for those able to work a condition of getting benefits under NIT. It can, however, be done under a system of public assistance. Enactment of NIT or GAI would open a Pandora's box that could harm our social structure and fabric more severely than public assistance does at the present time.

Sen. William Proximre (D.-Wis.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, commented a short time ago: "I can understand why 1,200 economists are for [NIT] but it would be hard to find 1,200 other people." The welfare profession has given NIT at best lukewarm support. Those of its members who favor it hold that NIT, if enacted, would have to be supplemented by a significantly liberalized public assistance program without categories or means test but with national minimum benefit standards.

Others prefer family allowances, also supplemented by broadened public assistance. Many foreign countries grant family allowances but none have anything resembling our public assistance program. The Canadian government pays $6 a month for children up to 10 years, $8 for older children. Sweden, a leader in the social welfare field, gives parents $175 a year per child, in addition to certain benefits at time of birth. In a recent book eulogizing the Swedish welfare state the author, presenting the example of a newly born baby, said: "His father began to suspect that raising a family was good business, and nothing happened in the ensuing years to change his mind."

To make the procreation of children "good business" can be justified in a country that aims to raise its birth rate. But this is decidedly not the case now in the United States. Moreover, we may question just how profitable it is for a family to have more children—on a governmental allowance of less than $15 a month.

The allowance most frequently suggested in the United States is $25 or $50 a month per child. With AFDC benefits now averaging $42 per recipient —which includes the mother and in some cases also the father—the allowance could hardly be lower than that if the program is to be meaningful.

To keep initial costs low and make the plan more palatable, one plan would give $50 a month for children under six years, and either exclude children six years and over or grant $10 for children six to 18 years. But it is hard to justify how we could give far less, or nothing, for older children who obviously cost much more to feed and clothe than small children.

The proponents seem to have their eyes fixed on securing adoption of the program. They expect that the benefit amounts, if clearly inequitable, would soon be lifted to higher levels.

With a present under-18 population of 71 million, a monthly family allowance of $25 per child would cost $21.5 billion a year, an allowance of $50 about $43 billion. There would be a reduction in the current $2.8-billion cost of AFDC.

Why should child allowances go to all families, rich and poor alike, when only one American family in 10 is now held to be poor? The reason given by the plan's advocates is simple: so that the poor would not feel singled out and stigmatized as relief recipients. Moreover, the nine non-poor families in every 10 would then feel that they have a stake in the program and would rally to its support rather than criticize it as many now do in regard to AFDC. Whether middle-class families would really be fooled into believing that they get something free from the government, when in fact they pay for it by heavier taxes, is another question.

To reduce the cost of family allowances it has been suggested to eliminate personal exemptions for dependent children (now $600) for federal (and also possible state) income tax purposes. That could add $376 to the federal tax liability of a family with three children and a taxable income of $8,000.

A system of family allowances coupled with a repeal of personal income tax exemptions would put money in the right pockets of all American families and then take it from the left pockets of about 90 per cent of them. This attracts those who favor the maxim of "tax-and-tax and spend-and-spend." Others would prefer to keep taxing and spending at the lowest possible level and provide public funds only for individuals and families who genuinely need them because they are unable to sustain themselves by their own efforts.

Does the U.S. government owe every American a living? And if so, does that mean that everybody has an absolute right to receive a specified income regardless of whether he is *unable* to earn it or whether he *prefers* not to work because he is offered a less laborious method of getting money?

An examination of the record shows that easy access to public funds, whether through guaranteed annual income negative income tax, family allowance or liberalized public assistance is economically wasteful and socially destructive. There is an inherent danger in dividing the people into two classes: those who produce and pay taxes and those who are permanently dependent on the public treasury although they could perform useful work. Representation without taxation can be as detrimental to "government by the people" as taxation without representation.

It could create an ever-expanding class at the bottom of the income scale which earns its living at the ballot box—from the sweat of other people's brows.

If government does not owe everybody a living, does it owe him nothing? Far from it. Organized society does owe its members an *opportunity* to earn a living.

The opportunity must be guaranteed to all that they can through work provide their own support, wholly or at least partially. Only those who demonstrably cannot work are entitled to sustenance from public funds.

Society can provide opportunity to earn a living in many ways. But above all it must maintain adequate incentive to work rather than incentives not to work, as some of the currently proposed income maintenance programs would do.

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Recognize Mao's Regime?

After 19 Months Reds Still Hold Anthony Grey

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

The best argument for continuing non-recognition of Red China and against seating her in the United Nations is contained in her barbarous treatment of a young British newsman in Peking. The unexpected return last month of the 82 American officers and men of the *Pueblo*, held captive 11 months by the Communist North Koreans, served to intensify the horror story of Anthony Grey.

This hapless 30-year-old correspondent for Reuters, the world-famous British news service, has been confined to a small room in his own house in Peking for 19 months. He is charged with no crime. Peking has never pretended he was anything but an innocent man seized as a hostage. He is being held in cruel isolation by the Chinese Reds in reprisal for the Hong Kong government's arrest of 13 Chinese Communist journalists. They were all duly charged, tried and convicted, but they are being treated humanely.

Not so Grey. He is given nothing to read or to do. His door, in freezing winter weather, is kept open all the time. In summer, it is kept closed, and so are the windows, which are so fixed with boards he cannot see out.

The British authorities in Hong Kong released six leading Chinese Communists who had been held in connection with the 1967 anti-British riots and terrorism in the Crown Colony. They were freed on December 3. Any hope that Peking might reciprocate by releasing Grey—not to mention the nine or more other British subjects being held in Red China—soon went up the proverbial flue.

Then on December 11, British authorities released five more Chinese Communists who had been arrested for their part in the 1967 Hong Kong riots, bringing the month's total to eleven.

Peking paid no attention to this British move, either. In fact, at the turn of the year, Communist China's official press agency, Hsinhua, asserted that the confinement of Grey was "fully justified" so long as the Hong Kong authorities continued to detain Communist journalists.

Hsinhua also said it was "malicious distortion" for the British to say China's refusal to release Grey after the Chinese journalists were turned loose constituted a shift in position.

Of course, this is precisely what might be expected from the Reds.

Their capacity for barbaric behavior, lies, treachery, even political murder on a wholesale scale to achieve their ends, is unlimited. What makes this case particularly frightful is that Mr. Grey is not charged with any crime. His behavior as a foreign correspondent in Peking was always so correct that even the Red Chinese could not drum up anything against him.

What many persons familiar with Communist methods now fear is that he may have to endure two more years of solitary confinement. For among the Hong Kong agitators and terrorists who were arrested, charged and given a fair trial before sentencing, there is one man who cannot be released, even with remission of time off for good behavior, until February 1971.

Although Grey was, as has been noted, innocent of any wrongdoing, he was, nevertheless, shut up in a 12-foot-square room under constant silent surveillance. (He has seen British officials on only two occasions in 19 months.) The Chinese Reds in Hong Kong were all given British justice—a fair trial, imprisonment under humane conditions.

Reporter Alain Cass, of the London *Daily Express*, co-chairman of a British press group campaigning for Grey's release, may have the key to his release if the government would accept it and act upon it. Red China's uncivilized behavior, Mr. Cass said, "raises the whole question of whether an 'open door' policy with China is worth such a high cost—the sacking of our legation there and the human and political intimidation of journalists and diplomats."

Peking makes no bones about Grey being an innocent man seized as a hostage.

What price recognition of Red China?

(Copyright 1969, King Features Synd.)

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NSA AT IT AGAIN—The National Student Association, which parades as the representative of three million college students, recently asked the Supreme Court to strike down the federal marijuana laws. The group made its plea in a friend-of-the-court brief filed on behalf of Timothy Leary, the LSD enthusiast who has been convicted on marijuana charges. The NSA brief claimed that "the best interests" of U.S. students would be served if the drug statutes were wiped off the books.

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Senate Unit Looks Into Davies Security Clearance Case

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A quiet Senate inquiry has been conducted into the Johnson Administration's 11th-hour security clearance of a controversial diplomat of the turbulent '50s.

The Senate Internal Security subcommittee was understandably intrigued by the restoration to good standing, after 14 years, of John Paton Davies, a Foreign Service officer whose dismissal as a security risk in November 1954 was a sensation of that period. The subcommittee's files bulge with testimony on the Davies case, much of it unpublished because it deals with the hidden operations of intelligence agencies. Some of this may now be made public.

The tale unfolded to investigators had elements of drama. The timing of the clearance, just six days before a new Administration took over, stirred curiosity.

Most of all, however, the probers were moved to ironic reflections when they compared the outgoing State Department's solicitude for Davies to its treatment of Otto F. Otepka, another State Department veteran who has suffered from a secretary of state's ire.

Davies, they learned, was cleared so that he might accept a $75-a-day post as a consultant on a disarmament research project financed by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In this position, Davies would have access to top secret government files.

Those same files are barred to Otepka, whose only offense was truthful testimony about lax security in the State Department when questioned by the subcommittee. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, forced to cancel a dismissal order, reprimanded, demoted, and stripped Otepka of access to security data.

There is no disposition here to fault the belated clearance of Davies. He was never accused of disloyalty. The late Secretary John Foster Dulles fired him for lack of "judgment, discretion and reliability" and found his continued employment "not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

"My clearance is a sign of the times," Davies commented. None who recalled

Controversial former State Department official John Paton Davies (above) was reissued a security clearance in the last days of the Johnson Administration.

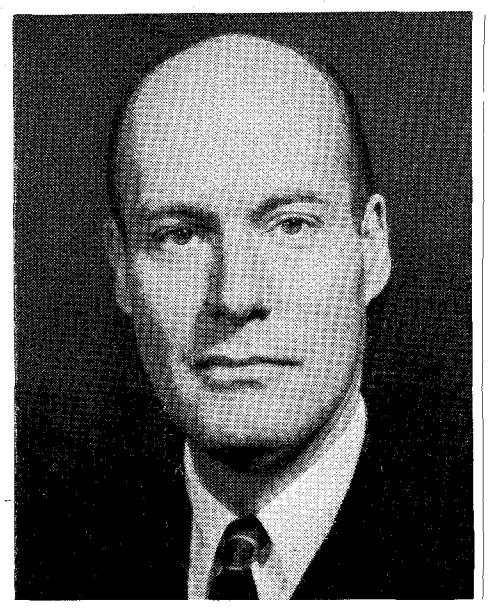
the feverish climate of Washington 15 years ago could dispute this statement. The times, indeed, have changed and Davies' opinions of that period would no longer outrage public opinion.

In particular, his recommendation at that time that known Communists be used by the Central Intelligence Agency as double agents would not now be held against him. The CIA has hired not only Communists but thieves, pimps, homosexuals and drug addicts in the intervening years. Espionage has uses for evil men.

The inquiry identified Max F. Millikan, director of the Center for International Studies at MIT, as the prime mover in Davies' behalf. An old friend of Davies, he wrote former Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach in 1967, stating that a job was open for Davies with the arms control agency project at the university if the old security risk finding could be canceled.

Eighteen months passed without action following Millikan's first appeal, but on December 3 (after the November elections) Katzenbach employed an outside consultant, Walter T. Skallerup, a Washington attorney and former assistant secretary of defense for security policy, to conduct a hurried but "independent and impartial review" of the Davies files.

Skallerup, receiving a consultant's fee of $98.88 a day, reported back January 8, recommending the security clearance. Katzenbach issued his formal finding January 14, just before leaving office. Rusk, another old friend of Davies, had no acknowledged role in the procedure.



Former Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, a Nixon Administration security consultant, approved the Davies clearance reinstatement.

Davies, now 60, returned to Washington in 1964 after staying 10 years in Peru where he had been counselor of the American Embassy when fired. He has a $4,000 pension, has published one book, and is writing another.

He has never lost his friends in State Department circles and they rejoiced in his clearance. Under the double standard prevalent in the Liberal Establishment, however, their indignation is predictable when, as expected, the Nixon Administration is moved by similar compassion to remove the stigma from Otepka's record.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

Who Is John Paton Davies?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Just five days before the Johnson Administration expired, the State Department reinstated John Paton Davies, who has been out of the government and classified as a security risk for the past 15 years.

Because it is unlikely that more than one American in ten thousand remembers who Davies is, there was hardly a stir when Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach issued a memorandum stating it "would be clearly consistent with the interest of national security" to open the way for Davies to be appointed as a consultant to the State Department and the Arms Control Disarmament Agency on U.S. policies toward Communist China.

Washington is sending a rabbit to watch the cabbage patch!

This is the second time Davies has been rehabilitated after being dismissed because of his affinity for the Communist conspiracy.

The Eisenhower Administration discharged Davies in 1954 for "lack of judgment, discretion and reliability." The action followed an investigation by the State Department Security Board, after it became known that Davies had recommended certain individuals, exposed as Communists and espionage agents, for key positions in the CIA. In this connection, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee subsequently urged that perjury proceedings be brought against Davies because of false testimony given under oath.

Even the Truman Administration, notorious for tolerating security risks in high places, suspended Davies in 1951, after an investigation proved him untrustworthy. But like a bad penny, Davies turned up again the following year and was restored by his friends to a key State Department post.

Since President Richard Nixon is retaining former Under Secretary Katzenbach as a State Department security consultant, one wonders how many other such liabilities will be resurrected and reinstated.

John Paton Davies played a sinister, and perhaps even a decisive, role in events which led to the Communist conquest of China, one of the greatest catastrophes of this century and a turning point in world history. The fall of China has already ushered in two Asian wars, which have cost more than 250,000 American casualties, including more than 85,000 dead, plus immeasurable treasure. The end, of course, is not in sight.

Davies was born and brought up in China. This background, together with his fluent command of the Chinese language, made it easy for him to insinuate himself into key State Department posts where he exercised a malignant influence over Asian policy.

He was the American consul in Hankow, China, in 1938, when both the Communists and Nationalists were fighting the Japanese. During this period, Davies became a warm friend of Chou-En-lai and other Chinese Red leaders. Subsequently, Davies maneuvered himself into a position where he controlled all outgoing civilian and military dispatches from the American Embassy in China to Washington.

U.S. Ambassador to China Patrick Hurley testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1946 that Davies had operated behind his back "to sabotage" official United States policy toward Chiang Kai-shek in favor of the Chinese Communists. It was Davies, whose distorted dispatches first described the Chinese Communists as "democratic revolutionaries for agrarian reform," a phrase assiduously used to disarm the American people then as it was used again later during the Communist takeover of Cuba. Davies perpetrated this fraud despite his knowledge that the top Chinese Communist, Mao Tse-tung, had always proclaimed himself "a Marxist, dedicated to communizing China and the world. . . ."

During these crucial years, Davies was assisted by powerful Washington allies in implementing policies which paved the way for the Communist conquest of China: depriving the Nationalists of American assistance and imposing a coalition government embracing the Communists.

There was career diplomat John Carter Vincent, later dismissed by the Truman Administration because of "reasonable doubt" as to his loyalty; there was Alger Hiss, later exposed as a Communist agent and imprisoned for perjury; there was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Harry Dexter White, whose premature death spared him punishment for Communist espionage, and then there was the Machiavellian Owen Lattimore of the infamous Institute of Pacific Relations, which did so much in this country to advance the cause of communism in China. But China was lost by the time these influential officials, operating at the very heart of the American government, were unmasked.

And so because of all the John Paton Davieses in our State Department and partly because of the prostration from 10 years of warfare with Japan, China fell to the Communists. This was truly a catastrophic tragedy for the gifted Chinese people and for all the free world.

Once in power, the Chinese Reds, by their own admission, executed more than 20 million of their fellow countrymen as enemies of the state because they owned a small patch of land or operated a small business.

The extension of communism into China has brought the entire Asian land mass under siege. Already Tibet, North Korea and North Viet Nam have been lost; India has been attacked, and only American intervention, at terrible sacrifice, has spared South Korea and Southeast Asia from Communist conquest. Within a few years, the Chinese, armed with hydrogen missiles and numbering one out of every five human beings on this planet, could constitute a mortal peril to the entire world.

And yet John Paton Davies, a leading architect of this worldwide disaster, has been reinstated by the State Department. Surely President Nixon will do something about this appalling legacy left him by the departing Johnson Administration. Indeed, the American people have a right to expect the Nixon Administration to clean up a lot of other dirty corners in the State Department.

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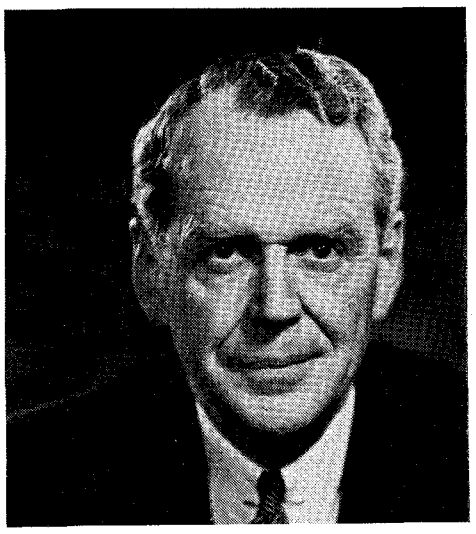
What Clifford Revealed As He Left Pentagon

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

The day before he went out of office, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford sent to Congress a 155-page "posture statement" on the U.S. defense program and budget for the 1969-70 fiscal year. In this statement, Secretary Clifford made two revealing admissions of truths which he had sought to hide during the 1968 election campaign. In October 1968 he had issued political statements designed to elect Hubert Humphrey by deceiving the American public about the way Soviet nuclear power is growing and U.S. nuclear power is declining.

This is another example of the significant difference between what Secretaries Clifford and Robert McNamara told the congressmen (who have access



Although ex-Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford has been acclaimed by liberals as a good secretary, he tried to gloss over the Soviet missile lead.

to the truth), and the claims Clifford and McNamara made to the public (whom the bureaucratic Democrats consider—in Harry Hopkins' famous words —"too damned dumb to understand").

In his Jan. 18, 1969, statement to Congress, Secretary Clifford conceded that "the rate of increase [of the Soviet missile force] over the past year has been somewhat greater than estimated over a year ago."

In other words, Clifford admitted that the earlier figures given out by himself and by McNamara were erroneous, and that the Soviets in fact are increasing their missiles faster than Clifford, McNamara and the Pentagon Whiz Kids had calculated with their "computer" brains.

Clifford then concluded: "However, we believe the rate of [Soviet] increase will be considerably smaller over the next two or three years." He offered no evidence to support that prediction. In fact, the evidence is completely contrary, as shown by the Center for Strategic Studies Report entitled "The Soviet Military Technological Challenge."

In his January 18 statement, Clifford conceded that the USSR has *nearly quadrupled* its missile force in the last two years. During these same two years, McNamara and Clifford did not permit a single new strategic missile to be added to the U.S. force, but kept our number stationary and allowed the Soviets to catch and surpass us.

Clifford then stated that the Soviets have slowed down work on their anti-missile defenses. He cited absolutely no evidence in support of this (as pointed out by *U.S. News & World Report*). In fact, the evidence is that the Soviets are proceeding very rapidly with new defensive and offensive weapons.

Clifford made a very revealing admission about the U.S. anti-missile system which should silence its opponents once and for all. In defending the Sentinel, or "thin," anti-missile system, on which construction is scheduled to begin soon, Clifford said: Without a Sentinel defense system, as many as 23 million Americans could be killed in a nuclear attack; but with such a system, they could be held to a million or less.

Using Clifford's own arithmetic, this means that the Sentinel would save 22 out of 23 million possible fatalities—a survival factor of 95 per cent.

Inadvertently, Clifford has thus given the best possible argument in favor of expanding the Sentinel into the "thick" anti-missile system which the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have unanimously recommended for more than three years.

If the anti-missile system is so good that it would save 95 per cent of the 23 million Americans who would be killed in a nuclear attack from Red China—then it would save a substantial majority and possibly up to 95 per cent of the 160 million Americans who would be killed in a nuclear attack from the far more powerful Soviet Union. Any defensive system which is up to 95 per cent effective is so very "cost-effective" that we *must* build it as soon as possible.

Much of the weakened U.S. defense posture can be traced to the "cost-effectiveness" policies of Robert McNamara.

Thus, Clifford's last statement before leaving the Defense Department proves that:

- The LBJ Defense Department erroneously, foolishly and dangerously underestimated the growing missile power of the Soviet Union; and
- Erroneously and willfully stalled for three-and-one-half years and refused to build a U.S. defensive system which Clifford now admits is 95 per cent effective against an enemy missile attack.

The shocking fact is that, during the Johnson Administration, 50 per cent of U.S. nuclear striking power was scrapped while the Soviet nuclear striking power increased 300 per cent. This is confirmed by the chart below from the July 1967 Report of the House Armed Services Committee entitled "The Changing Strategic Military Balance: U.S.A. vs. USSR."

America can breathe a sigh of relief that the men who made these dangerous mistakes have now departed from the Defense Department and have been replaced by Secretary Melvin Laird, probably the best informed and keenest man in the country in the field of national defense.

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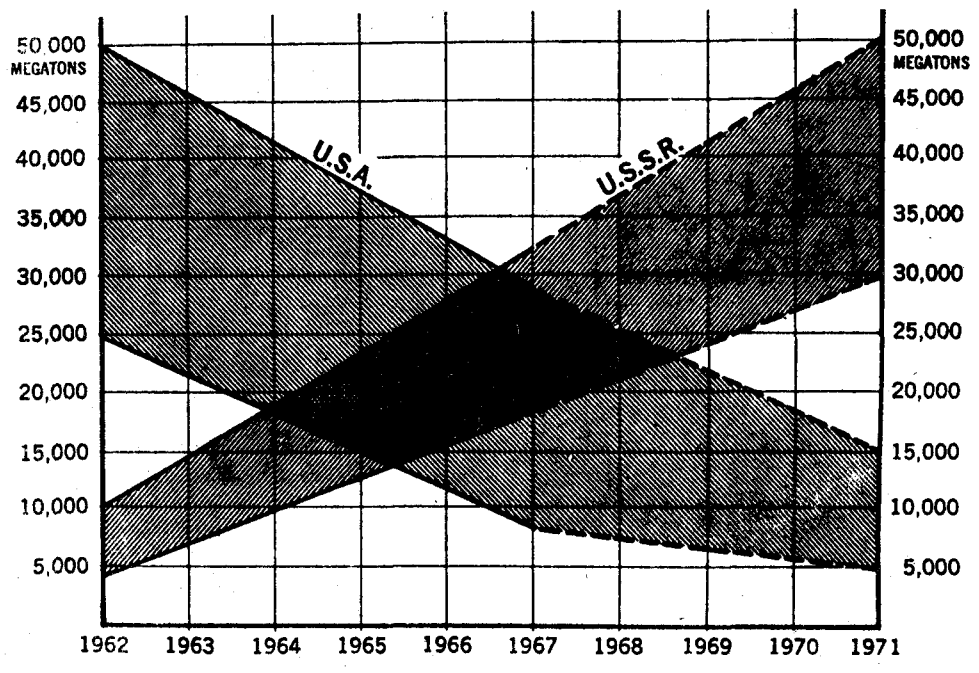

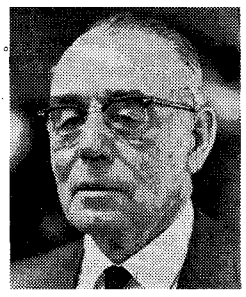

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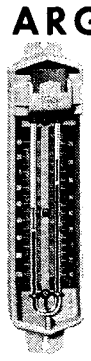

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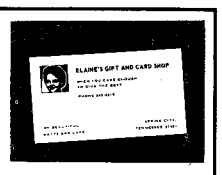

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The Bail Problem

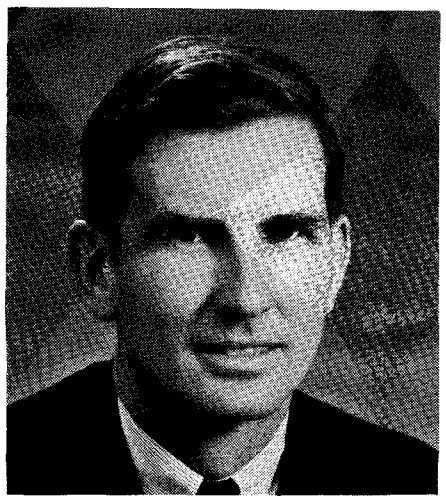
What Should Be Done With the Bad Guys?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

For the past week or so, a Senate subcommittee has been wrestling with one of the most difficult problems of our criminal law: When it comes to bail, what do you do with the bad guys?

The hearings have concentrated on some appalling conditions here in Washington, which, as Mr. Nixon reminded us months ago, is the crime capital of the world. The sobriquet may not have been wholly deserved; statistics on criminal offenses are notoriously poor. But all major cities are alike in grappling with the newly perceived perplexities of bail.

The perplexities are new, but the practice is old. As far back as *Magna Carta* English defendants were posting bail to insure their appearance at a subsequent trial. The ancient Common Laws of England declared it to be "fundamentall lawe that a man is not to be imprisoned if he tender sufficient bayle, &c., except in some cases capitall, and some other special cases."



Even liberal Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) wants "preventive detention" of dangerous criminals.

Our own Constitution lays down the commandment that "excessive bail shall not be required."

But in the past few years, a great deal of rethinking has been going on about bail. Some of this has resulted from the clogging of court dockets; when the courts were not so crowded, and defendants were assured a reasonably swift trial, it seemed not intolerable that an accused might spend a week or so in jail awaiting his day in court.

More of the rethinking has resulted from general trends in criminal law. Our courts have become far more solicitous in recent years about the rights of defendants generally—the right to counsel, the right to avoid self-incrimination, the right to an impartial jury, and so on. An entire new body of criminal law, governing the admissibility of evidence and other trial procedures, suddenly has sprung into being.

As part of this movement, court reformers took a critical look at bail. We were asked to consider the plight of the poor but honest youth, charged with a serious crime. He is too poor to pay a bondsman's fee; thus he is clapped in jail pending trial. He may remain there for months, by reason of court congestion. Meanwhile, he loses his job; his family suffers and goes on relief. He cannot consult effectively with a lawyer; he cannot search for witnesses in his own behalf; he cannot prepare himself adequately for trial. At last he stumbles into court, pasty-white from confinement—and thereupon is tried, and acquitted!

Has society done right by such a defendant? Plainly not. And by contrast, the rich gangster has no trouble making bail in any amount.

Recognition of these patent inequities prompted Congress to enact a bail reform law applicable to federal courts. Many states followed suit. The pendulum swung heavily toward the practice of releasing defendants on token bail or on no bail at all. And what happened?

Here in Washington, in the year ended June 30, 1968, 130 men who had been indicted for armed robbery were released on bail. The dismaying fact is that 45 of them committed at least one additional felony while out on bond. All told, these 45 individual defendants racked up 76 additional felonies, including 49 additional offenses of armed robbery. The experience of other major cities, we are told, is about the same.

So the problem takes on another aspect, and the pendulum swings back. Here is a fresh-caught defendant, charged, let us say, with rape. The circumstances strongly suggest that he is guilty as charged; his record is bad; the probabilities are that if he is released on bail, he will rape someone else. But in theory, none of these speculations should matter.

The most precious principle of our law is that a defendant must be assumed innocent until proved guilty. Going back again to *Magna Carta* we find that "no man shall be condemned but by lawful tryall," and "no free man shall be imprisoned. . .except by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land."

Great principles. But the problem of the bad guy is real and serious. Maryland's liberal Sen. Joe Tydings (D.) has proposed to permit "preventive detention." That is, lock up the putative bad guys and deny them bail altogether. North Carolina's conservative Sen. Sam Ervin (D.) is appalled at the prospect. Others have proposed that stiff additional prison terms be imposed on defendants convicted of committing a fresh crime while on bail. Perhaps the answer lies there. Perhaps there is no wholly satisfactory answer, but the needs of society demand that students of the law keep looking.

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Crime in the Nation's Capital

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

On one day in early January, the District of Columbia's police blotters recorded 2 homicides, 15 store holdups, 13 "yokings" and street holdups, 21 purse snatches, 72 larcenies, 48 breakins, 29 stolen autos, and 23 false alarms —223 offense reports in all.

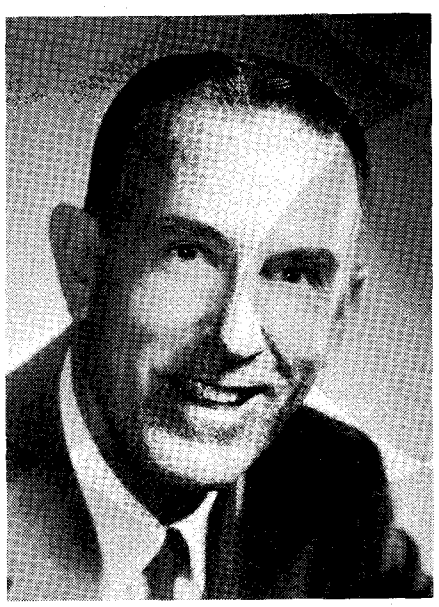
In 1968 there were more than 100 bank robberies in Washington, compared to 22 the year before.

Such statistics—and the heavy toll of fear and misery caused by crime—have led Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) to introduce a bill "which would amend the District of Columbia Code in such a manner as to make the use of a firearm in committing a crime, or in attempting to commit a crime, a violation carrying a mandatory jail sentence of not less than five years."

This is the kind of firearm control bill Washington, D.C., needs, aiming at the use of guns by criminals, not at their possession by law-abiding citizens.

In introducing his bill, Mr. Fannin—a senator's senator—wanted to impress on those lighthearted killers of Washington's peace of mind that their assaults on old men and women, on the weak and the helpless and the afraid would not be written off as a minor peccadillo by a misguided judge sympathetically searching for sociological explanations and justifications. With such a law in the books, the judges' discretionary powers would be limited, and the cost of crime to the criminal would be carefully spelled out.

It takes courage for any elected offical to take issue with the sentimental views of even more sentimental criminologists. And, of course, Sen. Fannin ran up against the bromide that punishment does not deter crime. Those who have foisted this view on our lawmakers have never been called upon to prove it. Sen. Fannin knows, however, that as the courts have grown more lenient, crime has increased at a terrifying rate. So bad has the situation become that, in the "good" neighborhoods, sturdy young men are warned to stay off the streets at night.



Arizona's Sen. Paul Fannin is urging mandatory jail sentences for those using guns while committing felonies in Washington, D.C.

Crime statistics fail to shock us, Mr. Fannin notes. "What should shock us are the stories of criminals out on parole who commit more crimes and robberies —criminals who are let off with light or suspended sentences while laughing up their sleeves at the naivete of the sentencing judges."

A "gun control" law such as the one introduced by Sen. Fannin would make it clear to offenders that any assault with a firearm, or its use in a criminal action, could not be brushed aside. The operative word in the measure is "mandatory," and this could be a sufficient deterrent, particularly in those cases where the offender is not a professional hoodlum but an amateur out to pick up a fast buck. For him, five years of prison, should he be caught, will not be an easy matter.

Sen. Fannin is not a harsh man. Yet like others in Washington, he has been appalled by the rampage of crime on and off the streets and by the apparent inability of law enforcement agencies to cope with it. Because of some court decisions, the police are inhibited in action against criminals.

And Sen. Fannin is not alone. Recently, a Washington TV station editorialized in terms that are more and more kindling a response in a deeply worried people. Pointing out that armed robbery increased 37 per cent in the first nine months of 1968, the station emphasized "the need for stiff, mandatory sentences for carrying a concealed weapon or using a gun in committing a crime."

(It may be forgotten now that, during last year's riots in Washington, Stokely Carmichael openly brandished a gun but was not molested by the police.) The TV editorial concluded with a sharp warning: "It is time that the punishment is patterned to fit the crime."

Whether or not Congress responds to the Fannin bill by giving it speedy passage, the principle embodied in it is one for the states and the cities to consider with great seriousness. It will not solve all the problems, but it will make what solutions there are more effective.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Change for Change's Sake

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER (R.-Ariz.)

When we hear loud demands today for streamlining the procedures of Congress, for the elimination of traditional safeguards, for doing away with checks and balances which were devised some years ago—when we hear these arguments, we are hearing arguments for further enhancement of executive power. We are hearing the voices of those who believe an all-powerful central government is the beginning and end of an all-efficient government in, as the saying goes, "these changing times."

These are changing times. We have been living in changing times ever since the Republic was founded. We are always living in changing times. And I am not against change. I believe there is always a need to search out better methods and new devices—in government as well as in our private lives and our private economy. But I am against changing the tried and proven process of representative government merely to gratify somebody's desire to change for the mere sake of change. And I am against throwing away a safeguard against the power of a simple majority merely to make it easier for a particular administration to jam through the Congress programs that are not in the best interest of the American people.

The mere fact we are technologically ahead of where we were 25, 50, or even 100 years ago, and we now have a population in excess of 200 million, does not alter the fact that this government was based upon the idea that every man has dignity and that this dignity has been bestowed upon him by God. I believe that if we begin to tamper with that idea, we are headed for trouble.

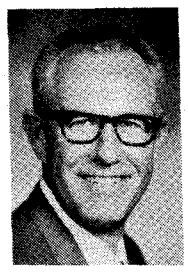
Anarchists at Inaugural

By REP. DAN KUYKENDALL (R.-Tenn.)

At long last the disciples of violence and confusion in this country have exposed themselves fully to the American people. The actions of the self-styled pacifists, champions of the poor, and crusaders for a new order during the ceremonies to inaugurate a new President have shown that they are not interested in solutions but in conflict. They have made it clear that their objective is revolution and the destruction of America. They want to put an end to everybody's freedom but theirs. They have made it clear that they have no constructive goals, but want to deprive others of what most of us have honestly earned through sweat and toil. They besmirched the parade route with their foul mouths until mothers held their hands over the ears of their children to save some shred of respectibility for a solemn and sacred occasion. In their depraved madness they tried to disrupt various events by vicious acts of sabotage and by throwing manure at decent people honoring a great moment and a new President. They painted Viet Cong slogans across the front of Constitution Hall. They threw tacks across the public highway to endanger property and safety. They attempted to tear down the American flag; and in fact, did burn a number of flags. Thank God, their excesses have at last exposed them for what they are—brutal, vicious, depraved apostles of the worst type of society akin to that espoused by the Fascists, the Nazis and the Communists.

Viet Nam Trade Ban

By REP. ED FOREMAN (R.-N.M.)



On Nov. 14, 1967, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was amended by Public Law 90-137. Section 620 of that law states:

> No loans, credits, guaranties, or grants or other assistance shall be furnished under this or any other Act, and no sales shall be made under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, to any country which sells or furnishes to North Viet Nam, or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to or from North Viet Nam, any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as the regime in North Viet Nam gives support to hostilities in South Viet Nam.

The intent of Congress is clear in the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended. Yet, since November 1967, a total of 164 ships flying the flags of free-world countries have delivered goods to North Viet Nam. All the while, of course, the war rages on. In the same 14 months, nearly 16,000 Americans have died in the hostilities, and, according to information furnished me by the Department of Defense, approximately 100,000 of our men have been wounded.

So long as hostilities in Viet Nam continue, so long as Americans are fighting and dying in a foreign land, it is immoral—it is unconscionable—and it is un-American not to use every available means to stop vital supplies from reaching the enemy, and flowing through channels provided by countries receiving American tax dollars in aid and grants. That is why I introduced a concurrent resolution which calls upon our President to immediately halt all U.S. aid and trade with countries assisting North Viet Nam.

I introduced this resolution--in addition to it being just plain, good common sense—because even though the law has been on the books since Nov. 14, 1967, it has not been effectively implemented to bring the flow of goods and supplies to the enemy to a halt.

Welfare Not a Right

By REP. CLARENCE BROWN JR. (R.-Ohio)

It must be clearly stated that no one has a right to live in idleness at public expense unless he is mentally or physically incapacitated. It must be understood that no government, within the framework of freedom, can guarantee to each of its citizens a life of luxury. It can and should endeavor to insure that an opportunity for education and training is provided for each citizen, that his person and property is protected, and that he shall have an opportunity to demonstrate that he is capable and willing to work.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The fate of the **nuclear non-proliferation treaty** gets "iffier" by the day. President Nixon has indicated that he does not intend to push for its confirmation for the time being and, in the Senate, Republican combatants Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond appear ready to lead the fight against confirmation. The conservative solons argue that the Soviet Union has already violated the treaty by invading Czecholslovakia and that two other nuclear powers—France and Red China—will have nothing to do with it.

• Several prominent Senate Democrats, including Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), are co-sponsoring a bill proposing **creation of a Cabinet-level "Department of Peace."** The bill, due for introduction in mid-February, would gather together five existing agencies—the Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Export-Import Bank, and the International Agricultural Development Service—under one tent; it would also create a new international peace institute. Similar legislation is due to be introduced in the House by maverick liberal Republican Seymour Halpern (N.Y.).

• Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), powerful head of the House higher education subcommittee, is preparing to look into the question of **campus radicals receiving federal educational aid money**, and will begin next week by hearing testimony from San Francisco State President S. I. Hayakawa. Last year Congress passed a measure allowing college administrators to withdraw federal scholarship funds from students who disrupt campuses; Rep. Green and many others on Capitol Hill now believe Congress should have this authority.

• Conservative legislators have begun their campaign to **block President Johnson's proposed $12,500 congressional salary increase.** Unless Congress acts before February 14, LBJ's proposal—which would raise congressional pay to $42,500—automatically takes effect. Leading the economy fight in the Senate is Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), while the House battle is being waged by Representatives William Colmer (D.-Miss.) and H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa). They are arguing that Congress cannot very well require labor and management to hold down inflationary price and wage hikes if it gives itself the 41 per cent increase. The lame duck President also proposed raises for other high-level government officials, including Supreme Court justices and Cabinet members, and these, too, are expected to come under the conservatives' scrutiny.

• A raft of labor legislation has already been introduced in the 91st Congress and Big Labor, led by the AFL-CIO, is rolling up its guns to get what it wants. Two measures would have the effect of **destroying Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Law**, one through outright repeal of the right-to-work proviso and the other through an amendment which would dilute 14b's authority. In the Senate, Sen. Harrison Williams (D.-N.J.) has introduced a measure (S 8) which would pave the way for **compulsory unionism for farm workers**; similar legislation is being brought before the House by ultra-liberal Rep. Phillip Burton (D.-Calif.).

• Another major labor battle is shaping up over the **right of government employes to join, or refrain from joining, a union.** Rep. Ben Blackburn (R.-Ga.) has reintroduced his bill which would write into law President John F. Kennedy's 1962 Executive Order granting federal workers the "right to refrain" from joining a union. Organized labor would like to see these workers come under compulsory union regulations. Meanwhile, Rep. Thaddeus Dulski (D.-N.Y.) has written a measure that would exempt post office and civil service workers—by far the majority of federal employes—from coverage under the JFK Executive Order, or, in effect, requiring these employes to join a union.

• One of the first anti-crime proposals sponsored by Capitol Hill Republicans would bring badly needed **changes to the Bail Reform Act of 1966.** Under this law a judge is required to grant bail to suspects unless he believes the accused person might not appear for trial. The GOP legislation (HR 2781), sponsored by House Minority Leader Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.) and Rep. William McCulloch (R.-Ohio), would grant more discretion to judges in denying bail to accused persons, such as those with many previous convictions and who might be expected to commit crimes while awaiting trial.

• A mixed ideological bag of senators, ranging from Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) to George McGovern (D.-S.D.), have joined in co-sponsoring a bill to **abolish the military draft and institute an all-volunteer army** six months after it becomes law (S 503). The legislation enforces President Nixon's campaign pledge of draft abolition and replacement by a voluntary military. Under the bill, which was introduced by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.), 18-year-olds would continue to register with the Selective Service and the President could request Congress to reinstate the draft in cases of national emergency. It would also raise military pay to attract volunteers, costing the government some $3.7 billion more in payroll costs, although other current costs involving draftee induction and training would be sharply reduced.

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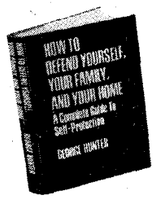

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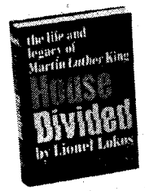

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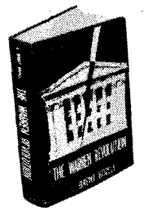

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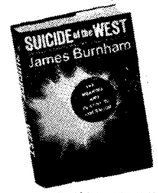

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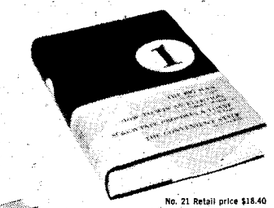

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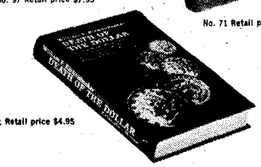

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